

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 15, 1875.

The Week.

DURING the few days preceding the return of wintry weather on Tuesday, general trade was more active than at any time this year. Breadstuffs and provisions have been in demand both for export and speculative account. Cotton has been quiet, and the advance in the price caused by the light receipts and the prospect that the crop will not exceed 3,750,000 bales, has apparently reached its highest point. Planters are putting in the new crop, and the acreage planted is larger than last year. The business of the railroads is increasing, although the war between the trunk lines continues. It is now a matter of record that the principal lines earned more net in 1874 than ever before; their gross receipts were generally smaller, but the low cost of operating on account of the decline in wages and material made this result possible. Speculation at the Stock Exchange has been tame, although securities and shares have advanced. The Union Pacific speculation, which for weeks overshadowed all others, has been brought to a halt by the Panama Railroad managers, who demand a larger share of the increased receipts growing out of the advance in Pacific-bound freights than the Central and Union Pacific are willing to grant. Very little of this trade will go over the Panama Railroad; but nevertheless Mr. Trenor W. Park, who is the chief manager of the Panama line, wants enough to enable him to declare 4 per cent. quarterly dividends to the Panama stockholders. He threatens, if this is not given, to put on an opposition line to the Pacific Mail. The banks added about \$5,000,000 gold to their reserves last week, and are gaining in legal-tender notes. Rates for all classes of loans have a downward tendency. Gold has advanced to 115½, and sterling bills are now held at rates which justify the export of gold coin. It seems inevitable that a large part of the gold to come out of the Treasury before midsummer will be exported.

The Governor's Canal Commission, consisting of Messrs. John Bigelow, Daniel Magone, J. D. Van Buren, and A. E. Orr, was appointed last week, and the legislative committee has begun its investigations. A bill is now before the legislature to enable the Governor to remove for misconduct in office any secretary of State, comptroller, treasurer, attorney-general, State engineer and surveyor, canal commissioner, or State prison inspector. These offices are now all elective, and the incumbents removable by the simple and familiar process of impeachment, besides being accountable in another way, of which we used to hear a good deal, *i.e.*, to the people. The theory of this sort of accountability is that when an elective officer, like a canal commissioner, misbehaves himself, lines his pockets with the public money, admits fraudulent bids, or indulges himself in any other kind of corruption, the news is brought at once to the people, and the people gather together in their primaries, and in their delegate conventions, and in their county conventions, and in their State conventions, and unanimously resolve that this bad man no longer commands their confidence, and that he, therefore, must retire to private life. As a matter of fact, however, the process is quite different, for no public notice of the bribery and corruption is given, the people never hear of it at all, and the only persons who know anything about it are really the contractors who do the bribing and fraudulent bidding, and the "high officers of State" who connive at it; and so, when the time for the primaries and conventions comes, the contractors and their friends assemble in great numbers, declare themselves to be the people, and very likely pass a series of resolutions recommending the officials for re-election on the ground that they

have "faithfully served the interests of the people," and then, as the people, go to the polls and elect the ticket.

This system of accountability has been on trial in the State of New York for a long time, and for practical purposes seems to have had as little effect in keeping administration pure as impeachment itself. There can be little doubt that giving the Governor the power of removal would do much good, though, as the *Post* says, the measure does not go as far as it might. If we could have the appointment as well as removal of State officials put into the Governor's hands, we should create the most effective system of responsibility possible under the circumstances of the case. This, however, is impossible without a constitutional amendment, and a constitutional amendment is impossible without recourse to the people, which at present we emphatically protest against. The *Post* says:

"By creating a new instrument of removal and leaving the method of election untouched, it encourages discord and opposition instead of securing unity and harmony among the executive officers of the State. Under the suggested amendment, the Governor would be able to impress his own administrative policy upon the departments. Under the proposed bill he would be brought into conflict with officers having a different policy, representing another party, and elected, perhaps, at a time when there were before the people issues other than those on which he was elected. If the Governor should be clothed with power to remove a Secretary of State or a Comptroller thus politically at variance with himself, the temptation to a questionable exercise of the power might not always be resisted. At any rate, the effect would be to embarrass rather than simplify administration."

But this is just the dilemma we are always brought face to face with by the inflated elective system we have adopted. The people have made the judges or the canal commissioners or the State surveyor elective, only to find that they cannot keep the offices in good hands; then they helplessly ask the Governor to remove them for cause, and in a short time he begins to remove them for "politics." Nevertheless, we are inclined to support the present bill, and for the very reason, among others, that it does encourage "discord and opposition." "Unity and harmony" have been tried a good while, and the more united and harmonious the executive officers become, the more stealing there seems to be. As we write, the measure appears to be undergoing amendment looking towards suspension by the Governor prior to removal after trial.

Besides the canals, the great event of the week in local politics has been the pardon of Ingersoll by Mr. Tilden, on the understanding that he is to give evidence against Tweed sufficient to secure a verdict. A new suit has been brought against Tweed for some six millions' worth of real estate, which the old statesman conveyed to himself at the time of the Ring operations, and which has, it is said, since then been conveyed and reconveyed until it is difficult to say to whom it belongs. We fancy, however, that it belongs to the "old man" yet, or that he has some sort of a lien on it, though his lawyers are said to have consumed much of his substance in their efforts to get him out of prison, and to prevent his property from being injudiciously disposed of. It is a hard case, altogether, for no sooner do the lawyers succeed in getting a decision of the highest court of the State in their client's favor, than the Legislature immediately passes a law making it necessary to begin all over again. The Legislature has recently passed two or three bills which will, it is supposed, enable the suit now brought to be carried on to a verdict.

During the canvass in Connecticut Mr. Blaine made a speech which is just now serving a purpose very different from that which he put it to. With Colorado admitted to the Union, he said, the total electoral vote will be 369, of which 185 will be a majority. The

South, voting as a unit, can give 138 votes, leaving only 47 to be obtained out of the 231 that belong to the North. The three States of New York, Connecticut, and California can give these votes. "And if this design could succeed, it would only be history repeating itself. Against an overwhelming majority of the Free States, in 1856, a small fraction of them united with the South, and were enabled to fasten the Buchanan dynasty upon the country, with all the unnumbered evils that followed." Since the election in Connecticut, the Democrats have found great satisfaction in reproducing this speech. The united South is, of course, not yet accomplished; but it seems not far off, for South Carolina and Mississippi are the only thoroughly Republican States left in that part of the country, and Mississippi is very uncertain.

The St. Louis *Republican*, in discussing this, remarks that it is a very bad thing that the old sectional division between the North and South should be thus revived. It has been plain enough, however, of late years that this was the conclusion to which the policy pursued by the Republicans was leading. The Republican extremists have made, if not the same mistake the Southern politicians did before the war, at least a mistake quite as bad. They are as determined to keep the negro question alive as their old enemies were to prevent its ever coming to the surface, the speeches made in Congress now by such men as Morton, Logan, and Conkling comparing very well for recklessness of statement and partisan fury with the old tirades of Jefferson Davis or Toombs; and the Southern States, as they throw off one by one the carpet-bag governments, go over to the Democratic party. There was a time, as the *Republican* says, when the country was divided between Whigs and Democrats, and not into North and South—when Kentucky, Maryland, Tennessee, Georgia, and Louisiana voted against the Democrats, and it is greatly to be hoped that the time may come again. But the Republicans have apparently determined that they don't want any Southern States on their side in 1876.

We have often pointed out in these columns that the general tendency of freight rates to diminish rather than to increase makes some of the complaints of the Grangers seem ridiculous. They have generally maintained that railroads, being "monopolies," and not subject to the law of demand and supply, could charge pretty much what they pleased. As a matter of fact, however, whenever we have looked into the freight returns of any road, we have been surprised to find that the reverse of this has taken place, and that instead of rates rising they have been steadily decreasing. The history of the Union Pacific for the years 1873 and 1874, recently published, is a striking illustration of this. The Union Pacific is a complete monopoly; that is, its business is free from competition to an extent equalled by few other lines in the world, as it is the only line connecting the Pacific with the Atlantic coast. In 1874, the road earned \$616,322 more than in 1873; but, strange as it may seem, the average rate for carrying a ton of freight one mile was reduced from 2.40 cents in 1873 to 2.08 cents in 1874, or over 13 per cent. As the only competitor of the Union Pacific has now come under its control, it will be easy enough to see, by watching its future career, whether it can charge as much as it pleases. It ought not to be forgotten that the transportation tax, so-called, unlike those imposed by sovereign governments, is one which cannot be collected unless business is in such a state that it can be paid, and that therefore building up business by low rates is one of the first and ever-present selfish interests of even the most grasping monopolists.

Mr. Edward Atkinson has published a long review of Mr. Wendell Phillips's financial theories, as they are called, in which he conclusively shows, as has been shown many a time before, that Mr. Phillips is very scantily informed about the rudiments of either finance or political economy. Mr. Atkinson suggests to him that instead of the new kind of greenback which he and other inflation-

ists propose, bearing the legend, "The United States—One dollar" (without any promise to pay), the Government should issue bills with the legend, "one turkey," "one horse," "one pig," or, for small change, "one newspaper"—making them, of course, convertible into 3.65 bonds. This would be an improvement on the present currency, for it would then show on its face, in a plain, straightforward way, that it was "based on the entire wealth of the country." This controversy between Mr. Atkinson and Mr. Phillips has now been going on for some time; but the latter seems still unconvinced. Indeed, we do not see why he should ever be convinced, for he believes that "our late war experience scattered half the cobweb theories that political economists had been spinning for a hundred years." We should advise Mr. Atkinson to end the controversy by refusing to furnish any more fuel to it, because he is really in danger of injuring his own reputation by allowing it to appear that he considers Mr. Phillips qualified to discuss the currency at all.

Mr. Charles Nordhoff has been sending some letters to the *Herald* about the present condition of Arkansas, which are written without any passion or excitement, and with apparent fairness. Mr. Nordhoff finds that with regard to the material condition of the State, it is as good as, if not better than, before the war; that the negroes show no indisposition to work, but generally hire the plantations of the owners in small pieces of land, the rent of which they pay in money or produce. They work better than under the slave-system, and are generally provided with churches and schools. In politics, it does not appear that they have been ostracized by the conservatives, for there are some three hundred colored office-holders of one kind and another scattered through the State, while the enrolling-clerk of the last Democratic House of Representatives was a negro, and the door-keeper of the same body was a *one-legged* negro who had been a Federal soldier (belonging to the class, that is, whom Democrats are supposed to spend their Sundays and holidays in murdering); and the Democrats even nominated a colored man to represent Little Rock in the Constitutional Convention, but his Republican friends "persuaded him," or, as we should say, intimidated him, out of the canvass. More than this, there is a State Civil-Rights Act in full operation which is so much stronger than that recently passed by Congress that Mr. Nordhoff says he was laughed at for asking whether the latter made any trouble. Such disclosures as these make us "realize" what "an age we live in," for it is only six weeks since the same State of Arkansas was on the eve of the most terrible convulsions, and it was generally believed by "leading men" that unless the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended for at least two years the negroes were a doomed race.

On Saturday the *Tribune* took possession of the lofty new building on the site of its old one, and entered upon its thirty-fifth year. In this twofold event there is much to strike the imagination, and also much to gratify those who have no personal interest in the success of that paper. That the profits of publishing a newspaper are sometimes large enough to permit a heavy investment in building for its own purposes, has been more than once demonstrated in this country; and if there is anything peculiar in the *Tribune's* following, say, the example of the *Herald*, it is that, perhaps more than in the case of any other paper of its class, the commercial side of its business has been subordinated to its public aims. This was, no doubt, the great merit of Mr. Greeley's conduct of the paper, and it will be recognized as the logical outgrowth of his character, both as a man of hobbies, a strong partisan, and one personally above mercenary considerations. The *Tribune* has never made or sought to make money by recklessness or indifferentism in politics, and now that it has achieved an independence of party which its founder hardly dreamed of, we look to see it still preferring the rewards of discharging its duty to the public as a purveyor of news and a leader of opinion, to those which are often secured by sensational and unprincipled journalism. Its past and

present prosperity is proof that such a course is popular and profitable. Reserving itself for its thirty-fourth anniversary, the *Tribune* at last breaks silence about its daily circulation, and shows it to be in round numbers nearly or quite fifty thousand. Of the *Tribune* building it ought to be said that, if it is not handsome, it is imposing, and will be still more so when completed, and that its solid and honest construction throughout make it not only fire-proof in the best sense of that term, but an example of no slight moral value in this age of sham architecture and insurance frauds.

A great demonstration has come off in London in honor of "Sir Roger Tichborne," in support of a petition to Parliament for his release from jail, said to have been signed by "about 250,000 persons." An assemblage of people came together, organized under various associations, such as "Magna Charta associations" and "Tichborne relief societies," and forming such a mass as can hardly be got together even when an electoral reform movement is on foot. The procession was about a mile long, and with it were a great many brass bands and banners bearing all kinds of inscriptions, such as "Westminster will never rest till Tichborne is set free," "This is the People's reply to the Lord Chief-Justice," "Set the captive free." The procession was joined by Dr. Kenealy and Mr. Onslow, seated in a carriage drawn by four horses, with two postilions; but the people in the procession soon unharnessed the horses and drew the carriage along themselves. A speech, too, was made by Dr. Kenealy, in which he congratulated the multitude on the orderly character of their proceedings, and declared that he was quite sure that when the assemblage of "half a million" people in London on Easter-Monday, each one of them "as gentle as a child, but as earnest as a giant," was brought to the notice of Parliament, it could not but have some effect. The excitement about the case, whether real or not, does not seem to be on the wane at all, as may be inferred not merely from Dr. Kenealy's harangues, but also from a speech at a public dinner by Chief-Justice Cockburn, in which he referred to the supporters of Orton, not by name indeed, but in ferocious terms of denunciation.

A House of Commons Committee on Foreign Loans has been examining into one made by the Honduras Government in 1870, which shows in a most startling manner the ways and means taken by some impoverished governments to provide for their necessities, and also the method of "placing" loans of a doubtful character on the civilized market. The total amount of the loan was £2,500,000, and it was in aid of an unbuild railway, which no one out of Honduras knew much about; and to float it the revenues of the Government, about which little was known, and that little not favorable, were hypothecated. The loan was supposed to be popular—that is, the whole amount was supposed to be placed on the market to be taken by the public at a fixed price—but an enquiry into the history of £1,000,000 of it shows that, as to this portion, only about £49,000 was really allotted to the public, the remainder being tied up in one way and another by means of all kinds of contracts. The £49,000 was sold at 80, and the remainder, at an average price of 70, produced about £665,000. Of this, financial agents absorbed £182,000, leaving £483,000 to go to the Government with which to complete the road in three years. The annual interest (at ten per cent.), with a sinking fund (at three per cent.) on say £951,000, would have been £123,000 a year. This in three years would have amounted to £369,000, with £114,000 left to build the railway, or, with the proceeds of the popular part of the loan, say £150,000. To obtain this the Government hypothecated its revenues, and undertook to pay £123,000 a year for seventeen years. And, to cap the climax, it now appears that just previous to this negotiation the Government had hypothecated its revenues already for the sum of £4,000.

There was no great novelty in these transactions, for in 1867 the Republic funded its part of the old Spanish-American debt by

cutting down the principal, and "solemnly hypotheating all the revenues"; and by repeating this, or making equally good pledges at later dates, the debt of Honduras has mounted to the very respectable figure of over £5,000,000, with interest in arrears to the amount of £1,150,533. In Paris the Government seems to have met with some difficulties, for though they offered as usual to pledge the "general revenues of the State and the lands along the railway," the loan offered was "taken up," according to the report made to the Parliamentary committee by the Secretary of the Council of Foreign Bondholders, not by the public but by the police. The £951,000 referred to above were placed on the market by means of a secret contract with a "financial agent," he taking the money in instalments at constantly decreasing prices (thus showing an apparently general understanding of the worthlessness of the loan), and, meanwhile, he undertook to provide interest for the £49,000 in the hands of the public. Honduras credit is not good any longer, and bonds may be bought for 6 which in 1868 were worth 95.

In Italy the two chief events of importance of recent date have been the dedication of a monument in Venice to Daniel Manin, and the friendly meeting, in the same city, of Victor Emanuel and the Emperor of Austria. The monument to Manin is a bronze portrait-statue on a granite base, with a bronze winged lion (which is highly praised for its modelling) below. It was uncovered in the midst of an immense multitude on the 22d of March, the twenty-seventh anniversary of the Revolution of 1848. The Government was represented on this occasion by Prof. Bonghi, the Minister of Public Instruction, and M. Henri Martin was the spokesman of a French delegation. A son of the dictator was among the spectators of the honors paid to his father. A fortnight later, Francis Joseph came over from Trieste, and was cordially met by Victor Emanuel in person, and fêted for two days. A grand review formed part of his entertainment. At Rome, Garibaldi continues to be absorbed in his schemes for saving Rome from overflow and malaria, and reviving her commercial importance, and has put out a "feeler" for a loan of \$20,000,000 with municipal and other non-state guarantees, for diverting the course of the Tiber and improving the port of Fiumicino. This loan is naturally looked upon with distrust, not only in itself considered, but because of the unsettled state of the whole question of the proper method of accomplishing what the general aims at.

The news from Spain is not encouraging. The Carlist defections, it is true, have been followed by Carlist reverses, but the war seems no nearer its end. It continues to keep a quarter of a million of men under arms, and to cost as many dollars per diem for its prosecution. New levies and new loans go hand in hand, and the annual deficit increases with the annual debt. The self-constituted Cabinet which Alfonso found on his arrival at Madrid has been vigorously enforcing reactionary measures after the good old Spanish fashion of bigotry and intolerance. They anticipated the King's arrival by publishing a decree obliging the Government to restore to the Church all its unalienated property then under state control. The civil-marriage bill has been modified, the marriages of apostate priests have been annulled, and the University professors have been forbidden to teach anything contrary to the dogmas of Holy Church. This last decree has led to many voluntary retirements, and caused much difficulty in procuring a president for the University, so that it is even reported that resignation on the part of Liberal professors is hereafter to be punished with exile. How long the ministry will be permitted to go on in this way, and how soon a clamor for the reassembling of the Cortes will make itself heard and respected, remains to be seen. Meanwhile, the industries of the country languish, the conscription goes lower and lower down, and, as the financial engagements and makeshifts of the Government are never published, it is impossible to say how near the brink of ruin and fresh revolution this wretched country stands. For the present, the priests are the masters of the situation, and beyond that nothing is certain.

THE CONDITIONS OF RADICAL REFORM.

DURING the past four years there has been unquestionably a great unearthing of fraud and corruption, both in this State and in the country at large. A good deal of reformatory work has been done, beginning with the overthrow of the Ring in this city. The Treasury has been cleared of a band of informers and blackmailers, and the Secretary who connived at their performances has been compelled to resign. The Postmaster-General is now engaged in a laudable attempt to rid the Post-office of a band of "straw-bidders" and other impostors and cheats. Governor Tilden is just now occupied in exposing, with every prospect of success, one of the most extensive and well-arranged and most protracted frauds of which any civilized state has been the victim; and the hearty support he is receiving from men of all classes and parties is a very encouraging sign of the times. There is, too, very little doubt that the Democratic House of Representatives will next winter devote itself largely to the work of investigation, and there is just as little that its researches will be rewarded by the discovery of a great many unpleasant things. "The great party" will probably suffer, but the ends for which "the great party" exists will be thereby promoted.

But then, there is one question which we suppose every intelligent man who is watching the efforts in aid of reform is asking himself every day, and the pertinence and importance of which cannot be overrated. It is this: Supposing the city government, the State government, and the General Government, in all their departments, to be rid of their abuses to-morrow—the leaks stopped, and the speculators and the fraudulent contractors and auditors and inspectors and agents punished—shall we then have reached the end of the régime of corruption, and shall we have entered on an era of even tolerable purity and decency and economy? This question is, as we have said, highly important, because the efforts we are making to drive the knaves out of the public service are not worth making unless the result is to be in some degree permanent—unless, in short, we succeed not only in putting a stop to the corruption and particular species of fraud by a particular set of men, but bring about a state of things in which fraud will be less easy and less likely. It must be remembered that the abuses which we are now trying to deal with have been in existence and growing during the last ten years at least, and had reached monstrous proportions before they attracted much attention or roused public indignation; and that they are of such a nature that they cannot be kept down by merely spasmodic attacks on them. The honest citizen has other things to attend to besides the suppression of knavery in public life; the knave, on the other hand, has nothing to attend to except his knavery. Unless, therefore, we can create some better and more constant protection for the public funds than "popular risings," these risings will only act as palliatives, and, be it remembered, will, unless human nature should undergo some great change, speedily cease through weariness. Men, M. Thiers once happily remarked, will die for their country much more readily than they will make iron for it, and, he might have added, much more readily than they will neglect their business to pursue thieves or stand guard over the public treasury.

Now, it must be said in answer to this question that nothing which has been done, is now doing, or which is proposed in the way of reform, promises more than temporary relief. In this State, certainly, some steps have been taken towards permanent improvement, by recent legislation which provides more effectual means of pursuing persons guilty of official misconduct or embezzlement of public money; but then there is a very wide margin, both in State and Federal administration, between complete honesty and the degree of dishonesty which the law can reach even under the most favorable circumstances. Within this margin there can be absolutely no protection against malfeasance, except what comes from a complete change both in the mode of appointing officers and the mode of ensuring their good behavior. This is the only real, as it is the only radical, reform which has come before the public of late

years. Its history in General Grant's hands has been so unfortunate as to make it somewhat ludicrous. Most people who speak of it now do so with a smile, and think of it mainly as furnishing a good joke against the Administration; and yet we shall have to come back to it as the only salvation that is offered us. Everything else is a makeshift. There is no use in pouring maledictions on the Canal Ring or the Indian Ring or the Post-office Ring, or any other ring, as long as the civil service is what it is. Rings are the natural products of a system which we have allowed to grow up within a comparatively recent period, the evils of which most of us see, but which we cannot get up courage or energy enough to abolish, and which is gradually undermining the Government. When any gross piece of corruption is exposed, we attack Ben Butler, or Bill King, or Casey, or Bill Tweed, or "Jarv." Lord, or work ourselves into a white heat over their iniquity, but these men are only the natural products of a state of things.

One striking result of the indifference on our part to the real source of our troubles is the failure of all our purely legal devices for the prevention of dishonesty. The civil service was broken down by Jackson for the avowed purpose of stimulating the activity of the "workers" of political parties, and this it undoubtedly does. The principle which he introduced into its management entirely disregards all the guaranties for honesty and efficiency which have their root in human nature, and of which every man avails himself in the transaction of his private affairs. The business of the world, in all fields of private activity, is conducted on the theory that you can only get faithful service by satisfying certain permanent and imperious wants of human nature, such as the desire for security, for comfort and social consideration. The Jackson revolution was accomplished, and its consequences are preserved by the politicians, on the theory that for the proper transaction of public business these wants need not be considered, and that substitutes for them can be found in an elaborate system of checking and inspection. As might have been expected, this notion has been refuted by experience. It has been proved to demonstration that a system of administration which makes no demand on a man's self-respect and love of approbation and domestic affections, and scorns personal honor and *esprit de corps*, is sure to become rotten before long, and to stay rotten until the motive-power is changed; and that the only result of an elaborate plan of checking and inspection in which character plays no part, is that the inspectors join the inspectees in the work of fraud. Wherever we look into the administrative machine, we find that combinations for public plunder are perfectly easy, and that the hindrances provided by law are apt simply to furnish the knaves with an easy exercise for their ingenuity. Anybody who will read the history of the Treasury exposure of a year ago, of the Canal exposure and Post-office exposure now pending, with this suggestion in his mind, will find plenty of illustration of it. In short, the burning question of American politics at this moment is, "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?"

Another result of the present system, and one perhaps of greater gravity, is the habit of relying on individual men rather than on laws or public opinion for reforms and for protection against wrong-doing. No careful political observer can have failed to notice the growth of this tendency during the last few years. It has now become so marked a feature of politics that it attracts little, if any, general attention, and yet it is worthy of a great deal of attention, for it is the symptom of a subtle poison. The old gentleman who appeared in the Republican Convention in Connecticut the other day, and said that "he had come there to endorse General Grant, and wanted to know if that was what the convention was going to do, for if not he was going home," expressed in a plain, homely way the conception which an increasing number of persons have formed of their political duty. They have apparently abandoned all thought of reliance on the working of the laws under the supervision of a healthy public opinion, and confine their political activity to putting this man here or that man there into office, and then, if they have confidence in the goodness of his intentions, letting him do pretty much what he pleases. We find,

accordingly, wherever a perplexing state of things has to be dealt with, that public opinion is craving some kind of moderate Cæsar to come to our deliverance, and, if he presents himself, is prepared to honor him with truly Gallic trust and reverence, and shudders at the thought of his deposition. We are going through a curious experience of this sort in this city at this moment with regard to the Comptroller, Mr. Green, who was put into office in the midst of the Ring excitement four years ago. He is now supposed to be "standing guard over the treasury," and most good citizens have really ceased to look for any state of things in which he will not be a necessity. They give themselves no trouble about the provision of a government which can be carried on in ordinary times without special providences and by due process of law. They simply thank God for Green, and speculate as to the dreadful things that would happen if we should lose him; and the efforts of "the good men" at Albany are now mainly directed, not to the preparation of a permanent city charter, but to strengthening Green and extending his powers, while "the bad men" work just as assiduously to overthrow Green and oust him. In fact, Green enjoys, on a small scale, the rank and honors of a "saviour of society." General Grant has for some time occupied the same position in the eyes of a considerable portion of the Republican party. That he has been losing it lately is due to his own gross abuse of it. His supporters have indeed passed the last six years, not in trying to lay broad and deep over the whole Union a government of laws which shall be independent of the wisdom or folly of individual men and serve the needs of many generations, but in persuading themselves and persuading others that he was necessary to the national salvation. As a consequence of this doctrine, not only has rational, far-seeing legislation been neglected, but his errors of every kind have had, as a necessity of the case, to be justified, and even applauded, with infinite detriment to public opinion and infinite hindrance to healthy political life.

THE STORY OF THE FREEDMAN'S BANK.

ON the 2d of March, 1865, in "the last days of the session" (so fruitful of national misfortune in this country), Mr. Sumner reported to the Senate an "Act to incorporate the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company." Mr. Sumner said in explanation that it was "an ordinary savings-bank charter," and that it contained "no extraordinary privileges." Mr. Buckalew, of Pennsylvania, who had considered it in committee, also said that the bill was "in proper form," that "the form was unobjectionable," and that the only question was whether Congress should charter a savings-bank to do business outside of the District of Columbia. Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, objected more strenuously to the bill upon this ground, and then Mr. Sumner, who characterized it as simply "a measure of philanthropy," replied: "Let it be limited to the District; let the amendment be made by inserting after the words 'body corporate' the words 'in the District of Columbia.'" Mr. Powell subsequently moved to amend the title of the bill by adding "in the District of Columbia," and then the bill passed.

On the 3d of March, 1865, the last day of the session, the bill was taken up in the House. Mr. Ganson, of New York, enquired where this savings-bank was to be located, and Mr. Eliot, of Massachusetts, who had the bill in charge, replied, "in Washington." Mr. Ganson said that it was not so stated in the bill, and Mr. Eliot thereupon moved to amend by adding after the words "body corporate" "in Washington City, in the District of Columbia." He also moved to add to the list of corporators the name of Salmon P. Chase, and both of these amendments were adopted. In the last days of the session, many things are done which were not supposed to be done, and, conversely, it would seem that some things are supposed to be done which were never in fact accomplished. The amendment of the title, which Mr. Powell moved in the Senate, and the addition of the late Chief-Justice to the list of corporators, which Mr. Eliot moved in the House, though carried with entire unanimity in each, seem never to have been acted upon by both Houses, nor to have been the subject of a conference, but in some mysterious

way to have slipped out of the enrolled bill. What the Journal may show, we do not know, but the reports of the *Globe* shed no light on the missing items.

This "Act to Incorporate the Freedman's Savings and Trust Company" was, then, simply a charter to establish a savings-bank in the city of Washington. Nevertheless, there is this remarkable fact to be found at its threshold, that, while it was to be a savings-bank in the District of Columbia, none of the corporators named in the bill resided there. The list of their names would justify Mr. Sumner's assertion that the bill was simply a philanthropic measure. It contains the names of some of the most eminent citizens of New York—such names as Peter Cooper, William C. Bryant, A. A. Low, S. B. Chittenden, Charles H. Marshall, William A. Booth, Gerrit Smith, John Jay, Hiram Barney, Seth B. Hunt, etc., etc. The representation from Boston was equally creditable: John M. Forbes, William Claflin, S. G. Howe, George L. Stearns, Edward Atkinson, A. A. Lawrence, etc. The list also included citizens of Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and these gentlemen from these five States and "their successors" were constituted a body corporate in the city of Washington.

Whether the names of any of these gentleman were inserted with their own knowledge and consent, whether they ever gave the guarantee of their good characters to the ignorant and trustful depositors who were to become the patrons of this institution, we do not know. A charter reported "in the last days of the session," and passed through both Houses in about forty-eight hours, has not much chance of being published *in extenso*, and of thereby being brought to the personal attention of everybody who may be honored by being named as an incorporator. It is not for a moment to be supposed that either Mr. Sumner or Mr. Buckalew ever lent himself to an unworthy operation connected with legislation, and they were really the chief sponsors of this measure. Yet the assertion of Mr. Buckalew that the bill was "in proper form," and that the form was "unobjectionable," hardly seems justified by what we now know of the institution. There was no personal liability on the part of the trustees provided for by the bill, and there was no provision for official reports by the trustees, and there were no means provided by which depositors in the city of Washington could reach, if need be, these foreign non-resident corporators; but it is also due to Mr. Buckalew to say that no great harm was likely to arise from the bill as it passed the Senate, for the only power given to the corporators after they had received deposits, was to invest "the same in stocks, bonds, Treasury notes, or other securities of the United States." That a savings-bank thus limited to securities which did not pay 6 per cent. could not promise its depositors a very large return for their money is apparent, though the securities, on the other hand, were excellent and always readily available.

Whether the eminent body of the corporators ever assembled at Washington we do not know. Some of them undoubtedly must have done so, if only to select their "successors." The charter provided that the persons named therein should be the first trustees of the corporation, and that all vacancies should be filled by ballot, and that at least ten votes should be necessary for the election of a trustee. Therefore, we may conclude that ten of these corporators really assembled to organize the Freedman's Savings Bank, to set the machinery in motion. But the charter also provided that the trustees should hold a regular meeting at least once in each month, and we may be allowed to doubt whether the corporators from Boston and Ohio travelled frequently to attend these meetings, and to infer that their "successors" very speedily came into the control and management of the institution.

Be this as it may, the Freedman's Bank lived, and, to a certain extent, succeeded. Its principal office was in Washington, but it established branches at thirty places in the Southern States. By what right it thus did business beyond the District of Columbia we do not know. Certainly the charter did not confer such a power, and certainly it never contemplated the transaction of business without power. Congress had not assumed to confer such authority,

which might conflict with the statutory precautions of the several States, and we see no reason why South Carolina could not treat one of these branches like a foreign corporation coming within its borders. If, for instance, Congress should charter another savings-bank, and that institution, composed of foreign corporators and directors, should again walk into New York and attempt to fleece our poorer and more ignorant classes, we suppose no one would question the right of the State to interfere and exercise at least a scrutiny to the end that it might protect its own citizens. But in the prostrate South there was in fact no one to take any such measures of precaution; and this body corporate, appearing and soliciting deposits under a charter from Congress, really seemed to the fallen and to the ignorant classes there as if it were the embodied power of the National Government, and that calling it to account would be regarded at Washington as the inception of another rebellion.

But when the business of establishing branches and receiving deposits had gone on for five years, and a large amount of money had passed under the control of the "successors," the original charter was found too narrow for the successful investment of the deposits, and humanity required that the unfortunate freedmen should receive a higher rate of interest. In April, 1870, a short amendment to the charter was reported to the House by Mr. Cook of Illinois. It merely provided that the trustees might invest in mortgage securities, and might hold and improve the real estate owned by the bank in the city of Washington. The amendment passed the House without objection, without debate, and, it may be inferred, without consideration. In the Senate a single speech was made upon the subject, which we transcribe in full, both because it embraces in itself the entire debate upon the subject and because it has proved to be a remarkable prophecy of the fate of the Freedman's Bank:

"This amendment of the charter of this company I objected to some time ago. I think it will in the end probably destroy the institution. But the people concerned in this amendment, and those most interested, the colored people, have written to me remonstrating against my course, and if they want to be cheated I do not know that it is worth while for me to make much trouble about it. It is a principle which ought not to go into any banking institution at all. It is endangering the depositors of the funds, the small depositors especially. They are in the hands of persons entirely irresponsible, except the responsibility given by their character. They will be led probably into speculations, and if this money is once invested in real estate it will be very difficult to get it back. My experience has been that whenever institutions of this kind have invested their money in real estate they have gone to destruction."

It would probably puzzle our readers to tell from what Senator this single note of warning fell, and to save them the trouble we will add that it was about the last one that would be guessed—Mr. Simon Cameron. When the Amendatory Act finally came up no one said anything, and it passed. The "successors" were then practically, though not nominally, the same set of men who were getting all kinds of legislation for the District of Columbia, and very little was said in Congress against anything which they wanted.

The remainder of the story is very soon told. In 1873 a National-Bank examiner, under instructions from the Comptroller of the Currency, examined the books of the Freedman's Bank and reported its affairs to be unsatisfactory, and pointed out a number of irregularities which might well have been characterized first as last as so many robberies. In 1874 another examination was held, and the concern was pronounced insolvent. A feeble attempt at reorganization was made, and then the bank collapsed. In four years after the Amendatory Act passed, a beneficent and useful institution, which might have pursued a well-beaten business path, was ruined; its assets, intended to be the safest known to a business community, practically worthless; and several millions of money taken from the savings of the poor hopelessly squandered. And in little less than a year from the time that the insolvency of the bank became known—such was the involved and atrocious condition of its affairs—none of its wronged and needy depositors has received a cent. Finally, no one responsible for the iniquity has been hung by the mob nor prosecuted by the officers of the Government. The leniency

of the former occasions some astonishment; the inaction of the latter awakens no surprise. The President's district-attorneys in Washington would no more think of indicting the trustees who lent freedmen's money to members of the ring on Seneca Stone stock, than they would think of indicting Governor Shepherd or the President, or of indicting themselves.

In looking over the schedule of the assets of the bank, one cannot but be struck with the very audacity of the lawlessness which characterized the management. Instead of United States securities and "first-class" real-estate mortgages we find chattel mortgages on furniture (and in one case a loan of \$50,000 on such a mortgage), chattel mortgages on paintings, on jewellery, on groceries, etc. etc. Seneca Stone Co. stock takes the place of land in an item of \$75,000. One young gentleman, a protégé of the late Cashier Huntington, obtained several thousand dollars on the stock of a Metropolitan Paving Company, an American Seal-Lock Company, and the Capital Publishing Company. The real-estate loans are, in part, on country property, on plantations, on lands in the South which cannot find a purchaser and had no "cash value," and on a "forest tract." Of the "bonds, Treasury notes, and other securities of the United States," supposed to be the chief basis of investment, we find only four hundred dollars. Any description of "wild-cat" collateral seems to have been satisfactory security for the unfortunate freedmen's savings.

If it had been in the power of the Government to pay these poor wronged creatures, on the morning after the Freedman's Bank failed, it would have been national economy so to do—not because of the private injustice and individual suffering which the failure caused, but because of the widespread demoralization which went with it, and the blighting of so much good seed which had been providently sown. It was not the case of one of a dozen saving-banks failing in a great city, occasioning loss to a small fraction of the community, but of a single institution which had spread itself over a vast region of country, and acquired the solitary confidence of an entire race. The evil, however, is done and cannot be undone now; and it consisted not in the loss of money, but in the destruction of confidence. At the close of the war we had on our hands a new acquisition of several millions of people, poor, ignorant, and inexperienced, who desired to rise, and who gratefully looked up to the Government in absolute trust for protection and guidance. We told them that they must study and work and save as white men do; that "if a man saves ten cents a day for ten years, and keeps it at six per cent. interest in the Freedman's Bank, he will have \$489 31," and that this "benevolent institution is under the charter of Congress, and received," so said the bank-books, "the commendation and countenance of President Lincoln." After allowing this to go on several years we leave them with the practical conclusion in their minds—the women, that it will be the part of wisdom hereafter to keep their savings without interest in an old stocking; the men, that it will be philosophical to take their savings and get drunk on them.

It seems to have been the fate of the Republican party since the end of the war to legislate nothing for the South but trouble and misfortune; to set up State governments and hand them over to outlaws and robbers; to create a "benevolent institution" and turn it into an instrumentality for transferring black men's money into white men's pockets. Yet, nevertheless, such is the dangerous simplicity of ignorant, unintelligent voters, that it is now possible that this very class of cheated and neglected depositors will vote solidly, in the next Republican convention, to break down the barrier of common consent which has restrained all parties for the last seventy years, and force the issue of a third term upon the country.

THE FUTURE SENATE IN FRANCE.

PARIS, March 26, 1875.

WE have been led out of a provisional Republic into a provisionally Conservative Republic. It would be idle to say that a permanent government has been formed, but the constitutional work is ended; and I

should like to-day to analyze its features, which in some respects are very original. First of all, it must be borne in mind that the Constitution, as it is, is subject to a continual revision, and this revision is not subject, as it is in America, to conditions which are difficult to realize. A mere majority of one in the Lower House, and a majority of one in the Upper House, can provoke the revision of the whole Constitution; and it was said with much emphasis at the tribune by the framers and reporters of the new laws that this revision had no limits—that it did not mean simply revision in a more republican sense, that it included a change in the form of government, and did not exclude a return to a monarchical form of government. The elasticity of the revision clause and the facility of the revision, which is made simply dependent on a parliamentary majority of one day, give to the new Constitution one of its peculiar characteristics. Hitherto, all our framers of constitutions have worked for eternity; they have all exclaimed, “*Exegi monumentum ære perennius*.” Our new Sieyès have been more modest, partly because without this revision clause they never could have obtained the votes of the wavering Monarchists of the Chamber, and also because they have less intrinsic faith in the virtue of words and parchments.

But to me the most original feature of the Constitution appears to be the Senate. The creation and nomination of an Upper House have always been one of the great difficulties of parliamentary government. It is fortunate for England that its House of Lords represents something which speaks very vividly to the imagination of the people; it is the senate of a great landed aristocracy, and is full of names, each of which is connected with the greatness and glory of Great Britain. In America the Senate represents the independent existence of the States—it is a Congress of ambassadors; and I remember when, in Washington, I was looking over a little book on the etiquette of your political capital, how much I was struck by the care the original framers of these rules of etiquette took to establish, as it were, the diplomatic dignity of the Senators. All our attempts to form an independent and active Senate in France have been failures. There was much dignity in our Senates—they were Houses of what we call *illustrations*; but as these *illustrations* were the nominees of the sovereign, under Napoleon III., as well as under Louis Philippe, they had no political independence. There was no young blood in them; it is difficult to become an “*illustration*” before old age arrives, with its accompaniment of fatigue, of disillusion, and of gout. An old admiral is not worth much on the benches of a senate, though he may still hold his place on the quarter-deck. Old generals are notoriously given to sleep or to diffuse and profuse eloquence. Sainte-Beuve never felt quite at home in the Imperial Senate. On the famous day which marked the downfall of the Second Empire, the Senate met as usual in its quiet palace of the Luxembourg. The Senators were very grandiloquent, and prepared to die on their curule-chairs, like the old Senators of Rome when the Gauls entered the city. The Gauls never came; the Senate was as well forgotten by the Revolution as if it had never existed. On the 5th September the Senate was no more, and the Senators were still alive.

The Lower House represents in principle the population, the number, the living passions of the time. What will our Senate represent? It was thought at first that a good plan would be to represent the departments, and to give two Senators to each, which would have made in all about 190 Senators. The Department is an artificial creation of the Revolution, it is not founded upon old traditions, old charters; it does not take into account the geological character of the natural regions of France; it has not a feudal and material origin, like the old *province*. Nevertheless, it has now existed for nearly eighty years and it has assumed some reality. What has more than anything contributed to give vitality to the department is the financial question. You cannot deny the existence of a man who has debts, and our departments are plunging into debt as much as the State will allow them, in order to make railroads and improvements of all sorts. The budget of a department has become something rather respectable, and the Councils-General are allowed to discuss this budget yearly. Why not, therefore, represent in the Senate those divisions of France which have assumed life and reality? It would give importance to the great land-owners, as they are the class which fills the Councils-General. This mode of representation was the one which I preferred, and which I have always advocated. I doubt whether it would have excluded many of our “*illustrations*,” as most of them are members of the Councils-General in their departments. The plan which has been adopted does not exclude the Councils-General from the nomination of the Senators, only they will find themselves completely swamped by the great number of Senatorial electors. And who are those electors to be? Each *commune* (township or village) will name a delegate, and these delegates will meet with the Councils-General and the Councils of each *arrondissement* (the *arrondissement* is a subdivision

of the department) to name the Senators of the department by secret ballot. The number of the councillors of *arrondissement* is just the same as the number of the Councils-General, as each *canton* names one councillor of each sort (the *canton* is a subdivision of the *arrondissement*). The number of electors who will vote in virtue of this title of councillors will be to the number of the communal delegates as one to thirty, forty, or fifty, according to the distribution of the population in the villages.

There is much obscurity as to the character of the future communal delegates. The work of centralization has been such in France, and the pressure of the Administration on the communal districts is so powerful, that in all the rural and conservative districts the communal delegates will in all probability be the indirect nominees of the prefects. These functionaries will practically have the nomination of the Senators in their hands. It will be quite the reverse in the manufacturing districts. The revolutionary spirit will there be felt in the election of the communal delegates as well as in all elections. But the feature on which I must insist is this: thus far all governments, whether republican or monarchical, have made it their special object to exclude politics from the quiet field of administration. Even the Councils-General, though they resemble somewhat a small parliament, are only allowed to discuss questions of finance and administration; they can pass resolutions on matters connected with political economy, and yet they cannot express a political wish. The prefect, who is always present during the discussions, uses his power of veto as soon as a member transgresses these rules. The boundaries of discussions are even more narrow in the municipal Councils; even in Paris the municipal Council, though it is almost entirely composed of very advanced republicans, is obliged to limit its sphere of action to administrative questions. The new Senate law is a movement in an opposite direction: it goes against the oldest and most inveterate traditions of the French policy, and it converts the 36,000 municipal Councils into small political arenas, for these Councils will now have a right to take a part in the nomination of the legislators. It is quite clear also that in consequence of this law the elections for the municipal and general Councils will become political elections, which they have never been, except by accident and in the largest towns in France. The electors will make their choice in view of the nomination of the Senatorial delegates and of the Senators; each councillor will be named with the understanding that he will vote for such or such a Senator.

The consequences of this revolution—the word is perhaps not too strong—will, of course, only be felt in time. Whether they will be good or bad, it is difficult to say. One thing must strike the student of French history since the Revolution: it is the comparative quietness, the constant prosperity of the country under the most opposite, and sometimes the most adverse circumstances. Much may be said against centralization and its effects on the character of the nation; it can hardly be denied that there are few countries where the machine of administration runs more smoothly, where there are fewer abuses, where the citizens are better protected in their interests and in their rights. Paris may be turbulent, its palaces may be burning, the mob may rule in the Tuileries—the machinery of government goes on in the provinces. The prefects are the agents of tradition, of routine if you like; but this routine is such that no small municipal corporations can oppress or overtax a population, can squander the communal property, can make dangerous leases. The Councils of the departments and of the cities are as quiet as the law-courts. The instinctive desire of most Frenchmen is not to meddle with politics; to lead under the protection of good laws a genial and laborious life. They are very jealous of equality, but life does not appear to them as a perpetual struggle between conflicting parties. The Senate law will therefore introduce a new disturbing element in the smallest villages; it will be so at least if the law is at work for a number of years, and if the Senate becomes as active a body as the Lower House. But then comes the question: Will this new Senate named in this fashion really have more vitality than the other Senates we have known? What will it represent?—for real strength must be a transmission of motive power. I confess that I cannot answer this question. I seek in vain a meaning in a representation of the 36,000 *communes* of France, great and small. Why is the representative of a State in America an important personage? Because a State is an important force in itself. What force is there in the typical Commune, a church, a school, a burial-ground, a few houses, a collection of poor laborers, working from sunrise to sunset? To represent Paris, Lyons, Bordeaux, Marseilles, means something; to represent a village means nothing if you do not take the atomic view of society which was taken by the revolutionary *Commune*. The Communist's ideal was to make every Commune sovereign, to destroy all hierarchy in society; they adopted in politics the Congregationalist principle—at least if there was any meaning in their theories. Take a

number of people collected by chance round a few trees or inside some walls, and say to them: "You are a nation, a state, a community. Frame your own laws; be your own army and defend your independence. Let no voice come from the outside and dictate orders"—this is the *Commune*; but this molecular view of society hardly deserves to find encouragement; and I am afraid that our Communal Senate is an unconscious sacrifice to it.

"Quos vult perdere, Jupiter dementat." There is not much political wisdom in our poor, tired Assembly. A man sprang out of the great abyss of things unknown; he had written long and tedious books on history, and had not much understood history. He said to the distressed Chamber, "I have a plan," just as Trochu told the Parisians during the siege that he had a plan. And the Chamber adopted the Wallon plan before it fairly understood it. The psychological moment had come; there was but one word in everybody's mouth: Something must be done. Well! something has been done. Time will show how the new Communal electoral body will work and understand the interests of the country. There is a general belief that the new Senate must be conservative, and that it will be a useful check on the Lower Chamber. But I have talked with several prefects on the question, and I have not yet found one who could tell me with any degree of probability how the Communal electors will combine their action and how they will vote.

SWISS AND AMERICAN POLITICS—A PARALLEL.

GENEVA, March 1.

I FIND the very reasonable feeling prevailing among thoughtful and studious Swiss politicians that there is no department of foreign history so important to them as the political history of the United States. If a like interest prevails in America in the study of Swiss political history, there is henceforth no difficulty in satisfying it. The long course by which the Swiss Republic has progressed (do we say *progressed* in the *Nation*?) "from feudal to federal," and one or two steps beyond federal, is fully described in the work of M. Antoine Morin, of Geneva,* which is just completed down to the adoption of the Constitution of 1874. The venerable author is well known in his own country as a political writer, and especially as one of the earliest proposers and advocates of proportional representation. But in this work he restricts himself with great simplicity to the office of annalist and compiler. The result is a straight, plain story, attractive to any one interested in the subject, and, with its great array of *pièces justificatives*, very convenient for reference.

It is impossible to read this story without being struck again and again with the closeness of the parallel between Swiss and American political history. The scale of time is greater in the Swiss story, and the dimensions of space are greater in the American. Of course, these are not the most important differences, but really they are the most obvious. In both cases the confederation of the several republics was generated by the exigencies of common defence against foreign force. And in both cases, by a singular paradox, the confederation which originated in common interests has been consolidated and centralized in consequence of mutual alienation and civil war. In fact, it was not until after the war of the Sonderbund—so curiously similar, in some of its features, to our war of Secession—that Switzerland passed from the condition of a federation of States into that of a federal State. There can hardly be a more mortifying contrast for an American student than that between the war and reconstruction policy carried through to success in 1847, by the grand old Genevese soldier, General Dufour, and our recent and present miseries. But in both cases a great and increasing momentum towards centralization seems to have been the manifest and necessary consequence even of a civil war carried on in the most fraternal spirit.

Here, as well as at home, the decline of "the brave days of old" is dated, by men of this generation, from about the peace of 1815. The reminiscences of elderly people looking back to the fine old silver-gray party that used to elect and re-elect its candidates unquestioned, and their complaints of the Catholic vote and of too much universal suffrage, remind one irresistibly of old Connecticut. And that curious phenomenon, observable in all latitudes and longitudes, under the most diverse circumstances—the attraction of cohesion between the Roman Catholic clergy and the representatives of red radicalism—has had quite as interesting a part to play here as in America. It has given the control of politics, now these many years, into the hands of the "radical-liberal" party; and when, two or three years ago, the coali-

* *Précis de l'Histoire politique de la Suisse depuis l'Origine de la Confédération jusqu'à nos jours. Par Antoine Morin. 5 vols. 12mo. Paris: Sandoz & Fischbacher.*

tion dissolved in a quarrel, and the confederate factions attempted to pull asunder, it was found that political ties were stronger than ecclesiastical; for the Catholic party, in coming off, left more than half its voting force behind it in the radical ranks.

Of course the progress of these changes has given happy opportunity for the development of the "statesman." Geneva has had her Tweed and Wood combined in the person of James Fazy, tribune of the people, and hero of some bloody barricades and street-fights nearly thirty years ago. It must be confessed that the Geneva "statesman" (he still survives—*vive!* *etiam in Senatum venit!*)—and is pointed out to strangers from the gallery of the *Grand Conseil* is of a less gross and vulgar type than our own indigenous Tweeds. He is a doctrinaire, and addicted to political economy; and while friendly to a large scale of public expenditure, involving the dispensing of contracts to men of the right style of patriotism, he has a hearty and intelligent interest in advancing the system of public education. In fact, it is curious to see how large a function in the art of politics is fulfilled in this little republic by the public-school system, which is in many respects so admirable. It has been discovered that the corps of public schoolmasters and the reigning political party are able to exchange very valuable reciprocal services. The number of teachers and professors in high political positions is such as to make the Opposition denounce the existing *régime* as a tyranny of schoolmasters. Perhaps it is better that this relation to the art of government should be occupied by the public-school system than, for instance, by the retail whiskey trade—and perhaps not; it is a delicate question.

Americans will do well to ponder the fact that in this confederation, in which the principle of States' Rights has been asserted and maintained for centuries with the utmost jealousy, the advanced party of constitutional revisionists are now openly contending for the complete consolidation of the States under one central government. It is the natural result of too much States' Rights. In the long run a small amount of practical inconvenience and constantly recurring annoyance will tire out the liveliest of historic feelings and the staunchest of theoretical arguments out of De Tocqueville. It has been the pestering variations of commercial law, the ecclesiastico-legal hindrances to marriage and burial, the restrictions on the liberty of worship, the limitations on the right of citizens of one canton to settle in another, that have pushed the Swiss people so far along in the way towards consolidation—a way in which they have certainly not yet come to a full halt.

The religious question is now assuming its most trying and painful phase—for it has touched upon the tenure of real estate. Those who prognosticate a conflict with the Roman Catholic Church in America may save themselves any anxiety as to the emergence of any such real-estate difficulty there. For (as the author of the articles on "Our Established Church" showed ten years ago in *Putnam's Magazine*) all possibility of division within the Church, or between the Church and the state, as to the control of the magnificent estates of the Church-property, is prevented by making these the private property of the person acting for the time being as bishop, and by making him absolutely dependent on the Pope—*amovibilis ad nutum*. The local governments of Geneva and Berne, in their gifts for the benefit of Catholic church-edifices, have shown a less generous confidence than we in America, and provided that the riches built on their land, or with the help of their money, should be controlled, not by the hierarchy, but by the Catholic citizens. In both these cities the Catholics have elected liberal boards of trustees for the two splendid churches lately built; and these trustees say that, at hours when the buildings are not needed by the present occupants, they may be used by the Old Catholic clergy and people. This is spoliation and desecration. Accordingly, Curé Perroulaz, at Berne, declares to the Government that it is impossible to celebrate the holy mysteries in a building desecrated by schismatic priests; and, with beautiful consistency, says his Mass henceforth in a public hall and concert room, while waiting for permission to share with his Calvinist fellow-citizens in the accommodations of a Protestant meeting-house. This is a mild type of martyrdom. But it will be made the most of. Before this letter reaches you a moan of lamentation will have come to you by telegraph over the spoliation of the Geneva Catholics and the desecration of Notre Dame. The new trustees have invited the Ultramontane clergy to continue in charge of the church, only allowing the Old Catholics to use it, when needed, for baptisms, marriages, and funerals—an invitation which will undoubtedly be declined, if it is so fortunate as to get any answer at all.

It is impossible for a calm outsider to work himself up to anything but an anguish of sympathy in this case. Even the Conservatives, whose constant duty it is to object to all the proceedings of the Administration, shake their silver-gray locks with mitigated reprobation, remembering the time

when the Radical party was first built up by the Catholic vote, and remark that it was the Ultramontanes themselves who cut and trimmed the switches with which they are now getting so soundly flogged.

Correspondence.

AN INFRINGEMENT OF COPYRIGHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your journal of the 8th inst. is a notice of the 'Globe Dictionary' issued by William Collins & Sons, London and Glasgow, Estes & Lauriat, Boston, American publishers. Please do us the justice to state that this volume is a direct violation of American copyright law, being taken bodily from Webster's 'National Pictorial Dictionary,' prepared for us by the late William A. Wheeler six or eight years since, and at our demand its sale on this side has been instantly suppressed.

G. & C. MERRIAM,
Publishers 'Webster's Dictionary.'

SPRINGFIELD, MASS., April 12, 1875.

HOW PICTURES SHOULD BE FRAMED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The means of communication between the two continents are swift and varied, but they are as yet inadequate to an interchange of thought on less than vital questions. I have just read an art criticism in the *Nation* of the 4th of February, and my apparently tardy answer may seem to your readers singularly inappropriate. Permit me, for the sake of intelligibility and for the benefit of those who may not have seen the article in question, to make the following extract:

"We have never understood why the coast-scene of Hoguet, say, or Kuwasseg, when executed in oil, must be thrown back in a very deep frame, with the look, if it is small, of being seen at the end of a sort of golden tunnel; while the same scene, if we suppose it copied in water-color with exactly the like chiaroscuro and value, must be thrown up to an entirely different focus, surrounded with the flattest of slats, and blind-haltered with a blazing space of raw white all around it, somewhat suggesting in the whole arrangement the iris of a near-sighted eye."

Artists are not so arbitrary as the critic fancies in the framing of their pictures. Everything has its reason, as has likewise the gold relief, or the flat passe-partout. Our critic in somewhat violent and unintelligible terms asks us why we must frame our water-colors on white grounds. I will try to enlighten him. The first object of a frame is to separate the picture from surrounding objects; the second is to enhance the drawing and color; the third is ornamental. Now, a white passe-partout will separate a water-color from surrounding objects as well if not better than anything else, and the critic himself in another part of his article confesses that it is very ornamental. The question of its effect upon drawing has not been broached, so that it only remains for me to discuss its effect upon color.

Color must be considered with reference to both its value and intensity. By value I mean its relative lightness or darkness; by intensity, its relative purity. As the great charm of an aquarelle resides in its transparency, which is only acquired by a thin wash or washes, in order to avoid an appearance of weakness, our chief aim in the selection of a frame must be to give it strength, or, in other words, to raise its value. What will most strengthen it? White, of course. Now, as to intensity. Should any one color predominate, or should the picture be of a decided tone, it might be advantageous to tint the frame with the complementary of that tone or color whose intensity would thereby be augmented; but in so doing we must always bear in mind that the lighter the tint, the less its intensity-raising power, and the darker the tint, the less its value-raising power. It is a well-established fact that white, in a high degree, almost as much as a complementary, is favorable to a color, and white alone is favorable to all colors; as Chevreul truly says, it has a remarkable influence "in raising the tone (i.e., value) and augmenting the intensity of the color adjacent to it." The respective merits of the white and the tinted frames may be briefly summed up as follows:

All white frames raise in the highest degree the value of all enclosed colors, and in a high degree their intensity, though less than a tinted frame under certain conditions.

Some lightly tinted frames raise in a higher degree than white the intensity of some enclosed colors, and in a less degree their value.

Some strongly tinted frames, though they may raise in the highest degree the intensity of some enclosed colors, are so prejudicial to their values that they cannot be taken into account.

For this reason, too, gold frames without an intervening light border are prejudicial to aquarelles. Any one who has ever seen an exhibition of water-colors where want of space has vetoed the interior margin instead of limiting the number of pictures, cannot fail to have noticed the disastrous effect of such a short-sighted policy. Assuming for an instant, what I shall shortly endeavor to establish, that the flat passe-partout is the most advantageous to water-colors, the limited range of colored cardboard would in the majority of cases prove a serious obstacle to the selection of the complementary required.

Oil pictures do not look well in white frames. Strength being one of their characteristics, they need no violent contrasts to render them more vigorous. Such, too, is the nature of the materials and the mode of applying them that the brilliancy of the white causes the contiguous colors to appear dirty—an appearance which can be counteracted to the greatest possible extent by surrounding them with black. As a general rule, however, gold frames are the most favorable. The reflecting power of their metallic surfaces creates a subtle harmony betwixt them and the picture.

The critic says that he does not understand why the coast-scene of Hoguet, when executed in oil, must be thrown back in a very deep frame, while the same, if we suppose it copied in water-color with exactly the like chiaroscuro and value, must be surrounded with a flat, white passe-partout. I will preface my answer by saying that there is a class of paintings called decorative paintings, and for these, when executed in flat tints, a flat frame is most appropriate. For economy's sake, likewise, or for modesty's sake, artists sometimes select the low frame for their sketches. With these exceptions, the deep frame is almost invariably preferred, and not without reason. We have just seen that the reflective power of gold is a wonderful harmonizer. Now, the deeper the frame, the more broken it is by ornament, which increases the number of reflections, and, if in good taste, certainly adds to its decorative effect. In such a frame, therefore, the coast-scene of Hoguet would show to advantage when executed in oil. If, together with the oil, the water-color were copied directly from nature, it would not be exactly like the oil, were it a good water-color. To say that a water-color resembles an oil is to pay it a sorry compliment. If, together with the oil, the water-color were copied from the same picture, they might be almost exactly alike, and in that case might be placed in the same deep frame, with this prejudice to the water-color: that the final varnish of the oil would always make the latter appear the stronger of the two, even should the former be varnished with gum-arabic or other medium—a most dubious process. Moreover, the deep, broken frame would be in better keeping with the comparatively rugged surface of the oil, unobtainable in the aquarelle, save by the use of body-color, the last resource of the artist.

Finally, why not a water-color in a deep, white, or lightly-tinted frame? First, because they would be ugly. Secondly, because the shadows and reflections necessarily cast would cancel the chief merits of either. The white, no more a white, would be a gray; the tint would cease to be a complementary.

I am well aware that I have laid down but a few general principles which often conflict with each other. In the choice of a frame, we must, of course, consult that quality of a picture to which we wish to give prominence—the object of the picture and its destination. It is an impossible feat to condense the laws of the contrasts of color into the columns of a journal.

ROME, ITALY, February 26, 1875.

F. CROWNINSHIELD.

[Our article took up the subject where our correspondent leaves it—at "the object of a picture and its destination." After expressing submission, if needs must be, to the uniformity in framing demanded by the exhibitions, we proceeded to comment on the uninventive way of surrounding a picture seen in most people's parlors. Our correspondent, whose remarks strike us as having the interest of a man's talk about his own profession, seems to us to show the artistic limitation in more than one respect. 1. His vision of a picture is not carried beyond the studio; and his mind stops at the state of trimming and relief that may suit it there. 2. He seems to view exhibitions in an awe-struck way, not only as fatal powers that either "veto margins" (and of right ought to veto them) or else dictate margins, and uniform ones, but as authorities having a forward-reaching influence, taking away from these decorations the

principle of improvement. There is nothing to show that his mind has confronted the possibility of such change. 3. His contemplation of water-color art is a contracted one, apparently considering but one school, and that the feeblest in technic; for him an oil-picture, with its varnish, "always appears stronger than a water-color," and is a work of "rugged surface." But as an artist, he can hardly help knowing that in a large oil-painting the saliency of its roughness is infinitely less in proportion to area than in a cartoon; that whole classes of oil-paintings are literally smooth, and that they are not framed in deep relief on that account at all; and that his talk is therefore misleading in the extreme.

To harmonize the matter, the public might profitably learn to look at the pictures of the exhibitions as the books "in stitched editions" of a European book-store are looked at. Their uniformity may furnish the shop well, but they are to be taken home and bound according to the style of the library. We cannot see the question of framing properly until the picture has been pursued away from the studio-light in which it has satisfied the artist, to a certain destination among certain surroundings. Aquarelles, seldom being gallery-pictures, are the natural illustration for this question of art-millinery. Once hung, the necessity for good taste is manifest; the passe-partout selected from "the limited range of colored pasteboard," while it may have enhanced the colors in the studio, may go to stultify them or itself when contrasted with a given panel; again, the depth, boldness, and pattern of frames should be entirely different, according as the pictures are in a heavily moulded Gothic library or in a white-and-gold Louis XVI. saloon. Our correspondent possibly has not observed the fine effects which have been struck out by some of the surest heads in the profession, through simply studying the choice of frames, by adopting what he, echoing an expression of our own, calls complementary frames. A late picture by Fortuny in oil (in Mr. Gibson's collection) was put by the artist in a broad, black, perfectly flat frame. Many a coast-scene of high tone, though in oil, looks best framed in bas-relief, as the most eminent artists have discovered. But the converse, that aquarelles may look better in deep frames, is also admitted by men whose authority makes contradiction difficult. If Fortuny was the unimpeachable master of technic in water-color, we suppose Villegas may be admitted to be prominent among those who divide his empire; and he with his compeers, as well as a slightly inferior class of vigorous artists, of whom Vibert is a specimen, show their works frequently in the deep gold recesses of alto-relief frames, without spandrels, where they stand in holding their own, though deprived of a "varnish of gum-arabic." But it is arbitrariness, not the frequent use of paper mats, that we object to. Detaille's broad sketches in gouache are found to bear a deep frame as well as oil-pictures by Meissonier; the pretty cartoon, with a frieze-arrangement of figures along a cottage wall, by E. K. Johnson, was lately seen in an exhibition, looking very well in a mere cleat; not that this picture, interesting rather intellectually than as an example of method, would not have looked all the better in a frame properly studied for its wants. We repeat, however, that the enemy our strictures have excited is arbitrary dictation—by no means the paper spandrel or mat in its place. This matter of uniformity attains now the fixed-habit stage, to a degree that will make it, like all devices of the fixed-habit class, inevitably go down; and philosophers of the future will presently be arguing its barbarism and the inherent permanence of their own contemporary inventions. As a good lesson for American readers, we may point out the great "Niagara" by Church; it happens to have been chromo-lithographed, in a style by no means vulgar; and it is curious to see the constancy with which the broad, white margin attends it in parlors of a certain class, while the original naturally is framed without a margin. And, for a last word, we may yield the floor to Charles Blanc, that especially prudent and conservative critic, whose protest against the fashionable mode of framing will be found in another column. Though directed especially to the case of etchings and prints, it applies also to aquarelles so far as they come under the question of values.—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE allied firms of Scribner, Armstrong & Co., Scribner, Welford & Armstrong, and Scribner & Co., obeying the up-town tendency of the book-trade, have removed to quarters specially adapted to their needs at Nos. 743 and 745 Broadway, fronting Astor Place, where they find themselves in line with Hurd & Houghton, John Wiley & Son, Macmillan & Co., D. G. Francis, etc., etc. The new store is remarkable for its size and handsome appointments—a peculiar feature being a gallery, by means of which, as in a library, books are made accessible from floor to ceiling to those who wish to examine them.—D. Appleton & Co. announce 'Memoirs of Gen. W. T. Sherman,' in two volumes; and the following scientific works: 'Nature and Life,' by Ferdinand Papillon; 'Outline of the Evolution Philosophy,' from the French of Dr. E. Cazelle, by Rev. O. B. Frothingham; and 'Biology for Boys and Girls,' by Mrs. Sarah H. Stevenson.—Harper & Bros. have in press a work on Mexico by Bishop Haven—'Our Next-Door Neighbor'; 'Nooks and Corners of the New England Coast,' by Samuel Adams Drake; 'Mohammed and Mohammedanism,' by R. Bosworth Smith.—Henry Holt & Co. will publish 'Autobiography and Musical Grotesques,' by H. Berlioz; 'Art Life and Theories,' by Richard Wagner; Taine's 'Notes on Paris'; and Campbell's Austin's 'Jurisprudence.'—G. P. Putnam's Sons are to publish a series on the descriptive anatomy of typical animals, beginning with the 'Anatomy of the Domestic Cat,' by Henry S. Williams. The same firm have taken charge of the publications of the books and sermons of the Rev. O. B. Frothingham.—A 'History of Palestine and the Holy Land,' by John Tillotson; and 'Natural History of South and Southeast Africa,' from the journals of the Hon. W. H. Drummond, are illustrated works announced by R. H. Worthington & Co.—A book of poems by Paul H. Hayne, 'The Mountain of the Lovers,' will be published by E. J. Hale & Son.—F. B. Patterson announces 'Steamship Notes,' by 'Norval.'—J. R. Osgood & Co.'s list of forthcoming works includes the second volume of Lewes's 'Problems of Life and Mind'; Greg's 'Rocks Ahead'; 'Sex in Industry,' by Dr. Azel Ames, jr.; 'Birds in Season,' by Wilson Flagg; 'Whip and Spur,' by Col. George E. Waring, jr.; 'Illustrated Homes,' by E. C. Gardner; and two tolerably expensive works illustrated by heliotype—'Narrative of Le Moyne,' a French artist, who accompanied Laudonniere's expedition to Florida in 1564; and J. K. Colling's 'Examples of English Mediæval Foliage and Colored Decoration.'—Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, announce 'Journey in Honduras, and Jottings by the Way,' by R. G. Huston, C.E.—'Norse Mythology, or the Religion of Our Forefathers,' by Professor R. B. Anderson, of the University of Wisconsin, will be published by S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago.—The old controversy between Lexington and Concord, as to the part taken by each in the battle of April 19, 1775, both in shedding British blood and in having blood shed, has led to the reprint of Lexington's account of the affair, intended to silence all detractors, which was prepared by Elias Phinney, and published at the expense of the town in 1825. The pamphlet is obtainable of Noyes, Holmes & Co., Boston. There will be rival celebrations of the centenary next week.—The 'Harvard Triennial' this year is to be the last of the series. The catalogue will hereafter be issued once in five years. We learn from the Boston papers that Professor Lane, of Harvard, spoke before the Massachusetts Association of Classical and High School Teachers, on the rise, history, and prospects of the new Latin pronunciation, in Boston on Friday last. A count being afterwards taken, to see what proportion of the teachers present had adopted the reformed pronunciation, it was found that more than one-third used the new pronunciation, while the rest adhered to the old. This looks like a decided gain in favor of the new pronunciation.

—The *Portfolio* (whose American publisher is Mr. Bouton) contains among the criticisms in its April number a singular suggestion as to the Platonism of Michael Angelo. In the "Creation of Adam," where the Deity evokes the form of man out of the clay of the hill-side, a group of genii is represented as supporting the divine personage. Among these attendants one is shown rising in a singular manner from under the left arm of God, in such a position as separates the figure at once from the accompanying cherubim. An examination of Braun's large photograph shows that this figure is feminine in character; and the writer, Mr. Scott, is convinced that it is a representation of Eve, existing unborn in the personality of God. An inspection of the fresco itself left the same impression, which was confirmed by the facial expression and developed bosom seen in a contemporary woodcut preserved in the British Museum. The Eve, if

Eve it be, looks intently toward Adam as he rises at the contact of the creative finger. This prophetic existence of Eve, says Mr. Scott, "is expressed incidentally by the genius of Michael Angelo, veiled a little perhaps for fear of heresy or imputed paganism, and it has remained unremarked till now, as far as we know." The rest of the number is comparatively unimportant, and is illustrated with less originality than usual.

—We are glad to announce that Mr. John T. Wood, the discoverer of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, will give two lectures in this city next week concerning his explorations. The place and dates will be duly advertised in the daily papers, and we hazard nothing in saying that the public will be certain to find entertainment in listening to Mr. Wood. In Boston he gave four lectures to crowded houses, and was obliged to give a fifth as a summary supplement, to gratify those who could not obtain admission to the preceding. Here as there he will illustrate his lectures by means of diagrams and the stereopticon.

—The following extract is from the *Academy* (London) of January 9. We reproduce it by way of answer to Mr. Crowninshield's letter printed above:

"M. Charles Blanc, the art critic of the *Temps*, the commentator on Rembrandt's etchings, and author of numberless contributions to art criticisms, makes, in the course of a recent article on French engravings, some remarks on how to frame the prints with which most people's walls are more or less adorned. M. Blanc cannot say too much against the modern fashion of exposing to view an immense margin of white cardboard all round the picture. He reminds us that old-fashioned amateurs used to frame their Nanteuils, their Callots, their Rembrandts quite closely, like a painting. He does not quite recommend this, however. But it is very well to mention, what every observant person knows and sometimes forgets, that the white light of a broad, white margin kills the high lights of the print itself. This is so in England; still more, of course, in France, for what is gray here looks brilliant there, and whoever would frame prints to look well in a French room must mount them with mounts very low in tone. In England the faintest rough gray paper or faintest rough buff paper, such as Whatman's, is the best. A fairly broad mount is then not only allowable but advisable, though the modern fashion errs on the side of excess. As to frames, the golden rule is surely to choose the frame which will least of all attract the eye. Black wooden frames are of course at once sober and decorative in their general effect, but if placed close to the picture they are perhaps too apt to catch the eye. The thin frame of plain oak, unpolished, is of all the least obtrusive. No one who has noticed how by an inappropriate frame you may make a good print look almost a bad one, and, by an appropriate, a tolerable print look almost a very good one, will begrudge a few minutes given to this subject of framing."

—The last report of St. John's Guild, a charitable association in this city, which is displaying great activity and administering a considerable amount of money, contains the following, as the experience of some of the visitors:

"Half-grown children of those who had until recently moved in the highest circles of society were discovered sitting at their studies in a fireless room, with nothing to hide their nakedness save old fragments of coffee-sacks, which were tied around their loins with twine. Ladies, old and young, who had been bred in affluence, were found with merely a coarse piece of cotton cloth wrapped about them to conceal their nudity. None but eye-witnesses can fully realize these fearful extremities of destitution." That the children of persons who had recently "moved in the highest circles of society" should be found sitting in fireless rooms, with nothing to hide their nakedness but pieces of old coffee-sacks tied around their loins with twine, is startling enough, but that they should be found "pursuing their studies" under these circumstances is something which almost passes belief. It indicates, in fact, if true, an ardor for knowledge of the like of which we have never read. That they should sell their entire clothing, and fall back on old coffee-sacks and twine sooner than part with their books, is by itself a most extraordinary fact. It is indeed so extraordinary as to suggest enquiries as to the accuracy and sober-mindedness of the person who wrote the report; and we may add that anybody conducting the operations of a society which dispenses charity on so lavish a scale as this one, ought to be, above all things, accurate and sober-minded.

—Now that Capt. Eads has obtained authority from Congress to attempt the application of jetties to the mouth of the Mississippi River, there is nothing to be done but await the result of his experiment. The controversy between himself and the Department of Engineers, U.S.A., is therefore a matter of record rather than of present interest. Nevertheless, in a recent memorandum (No. 3) the Department offers one more dispassionate contribution to the argument on its side. This was elicited by a statement of congressman Stanard, of St. Louis, that he was not aware that the U. S. Government or private corporations in this country had ever constructed jetties. The memorandum shows, on the contrary, that "the Government has for nearly fifty years past constructed jetties at the mouths of rivers emptying into the Great Lakes, and has, in fact, created some forty harbors on our

lakes by jetties aided by dredging, and is now annually applying that system." The usefulness of jetties, therefore, is distinctly recognized; but, the memorandum affirms, the proper occasion for employing them is "where the bar is formed by the action of the waves in accumulating the loose drifting material of the shore at the mouth of a river." "The case of a delta-river is different; there the bar is formed by the earthy matter brought by the river to the sea, and dropped at its mouth, and the bar is constantly moving into the sea, the shore following it." Under such conditions a bar may grow enormously; as, for instance, "the bar of the S. W. Pass of the Mississippi River is more than seven miles long; that of the South Pass is two and a half miles long." The jetties must be of corresponding length, and the memorandum holds that our knowledge of the Mississippi bar warrants the belief "that, with jetties, the rate of annual extension of the bar will be largely increased, because the width of the bar will be very much diminished, while the quantity of earthy matter added to the bar annually will be the same as before." This view is sustained by the experience with jetties in improving the entrance to the Rhone; and is not affected by the success of jetties at the Sulina mouth of the Danube, since this has a drift-bar and not a delta-bar. The whole question of canal versus jetties is fully discussed, with the aid of numerous charts, in Appendix R of the annual report of the Chief of Engineers for 1874.

—The Engineer Department also sends us Appendix FF of the annual report of its chief for 1874, being Lieut. Geo. M. Wheeler's annual report on the geographical explorations and surveys under his command west of the hundredth meridian. It is a summary account of the work performed, and is chiefly occupied with records of astronomical observations for determining latitude, and telegraphic signalling to determine difference of time, etc. The usual map accompanies it. More readable is Lieut. Wheeler's progress report for 1872, transmitted to General Humphreys in January, and printed in quarto form. A skeleton map, somewhat different from the foregoing, is given, together with some striking views of the scenery in the cañons of the Colorado. It is mentioned that the photographer of the originals from which these are copied used the dry-plate process with encouraging success, and the hope is expressed that, "by the application of skilled labor and the refinement of instruments," we may some day "be able to give a value to the horizontal and vertical measurements upon a photographic picture." In any case, the organization of a photographic establishment in connection with the War Department is recommended. There are some interesting remarks on timber-lands in the area covered by the survey (chiefly in Utah), on irrigation, and on routes. Lieut. Wheeler believes that "comparatively few points will be found where [artesian] wells can be successfully sunk." Irrigation by canals has some chance east of the Rocky Mountains, but under very different conditions from those of similar works in Italy and India. As for the wagon-roads, in the construction of which the old corps of topographical engineers used to be engaged, Lieut. Wheeler says: "It would, in my opinion, be wise economy on the part of the Government to inaugurate anew the surveys and estimates for the construction of more accessible routes between the several military establishments of the interior, governed by necessities for their supply, possibility of the movement of troops in the change of stations, or in operations against the Indians, or in placing of the military force with celerity at points where they may be called upon to sustain the civil law." The annual report of the Chief of Ordnance for 1874 is mainly taken up with trials of the Gatling gun, and with reports on the merits, after experience, of novelties in cavalry and artillery equipments, the adoption of which appears to depend on the majority vote of officers in actual service. A very valuable work, prepared under the authority of the Treasury Department, by Major Geo. H. Elliot, of the Engineers, is his 'Report of a Tour of Inspection of European Lighthouse Establishments made in 1873.' It abounds in statistics, plans, maps, and illustrations.

—From the Interior Department we have two pamphlets issued by the Bureau of Education, and a report on the Mission Indians of Southern California, by Charles A. Wetmore, Special U. S. Commissioner. The history of this once prosperous but now hopelessly degraded people, as given by Mr. Wetmore, makes sad reading. The inroads of Mexican and of American adventurers had broken up their agricultural settlements, stripped them of their land, and forced them to seek a precarious living in the employ of the rancheros. A worse condition was in store for them. The cattle interest, which contended for mastery with the farming interest, was defeated by the passage not long ago of the 'no-fence laws,' and this defeat meant quitting the field. The Indians have now no title to lands of their own, and are largely given over to vagrancy and mendicancy and the cultivation of the worst vices. Mr. Wetmore's plan of reclaiming them has much to

commend it, but, strange to say, he is opposed to giving them the ballot. Dr. Alex. Shiras's official account of the history, work, and limitations of the Bureau of Education states that the library which it has amassed, at small cost, is "of almost unexampled richness in its special line," and that, "for purposes of practical investigation," it is "superior to any in existence, except, perhaps, one at Vienna." The Bureau's 'Statement of the Theory of Education in the U. S., as approved by many leading Educators,' was designed for use at the Vienna Exposition, but has suffered delay. It seems to us capable of a more perspicuous presentation. We are glad to notice the reserve with which it is mentioned that "Declamation of oratorical selections is a favorite exercise, and is supposed to fit the youth for public and political life."

—The vitality of the material of the mediæval romances is astonishing, and the history of the various transformations undergone by the Arthurian and Carolingian legends could not fail to be interesting and instructive. The latter has always been the more popular cycle, and its development extends from the ninth to the nineteenth century, from Eginhard's scanty notice among the heroes fallen at Roncevaux, "et Hruodlandus Britannici limitis præfectus," to M. Henri de Bornier's 'La Fille de Roland,' lately brought out with great success at the Théâtre Français, and which has all at once made its author one of the celebrities of the day. The plot of the play is briefly this: The traitor, Ganelon, who caused the disaster of Roncevaux, is supposed to escape the punishment prepared for him, and to live under the assumed name of Count Amaury, in his castle on the Rhine, where he brings up his son Gérald, who is ignorant of his father's past life, in the practice of all knightly virtues. Roland, the hero of Roncevaux, is also supposed to leave a daughter, Bertha, who, after her father's death, is adopted by her uncle, the Emperor Charlemagne. Gérald by chance rescues Bertha from the Saxons, and falls in love with her, his father in vain commanding him to renounce his passion. Gérald determines to set out in the usual adventurous manner of the times, and merit by his exploits the hand of Charlemagne's niece. The third act opens at Aix-la-Chapelle, at the emperor's court, where a Moorish prince, who possesses Roland's famous sword Durandal, comes to challenge the French knights to single combat. He has already overcome thirty adversaries, and the old emperor himself is about to enter the lists, when Gérald arrives, and accepts the Moor's defiance. Charlemagne lends his own sword Joyeuse to Gérald, who, animated by the presence of Bertha, is victorious, and is rewarded by her hand. Count Amaury is obliged to visit the court in order to be present at the wedding, and is recognized by the emperor, who, touched by his repentance, allows him to seek an honorable death in Palestine. Unhappily, others recognize the unfortunate Ganelon, who reveals himself to his son in a touching scene. Gérald is overwhelmed, but does not curse his father. The case, after the fashion of the day, is submitted to a tribunal of honor composed of the survivors of Roncevaux and the descendants of those killed there. They all declare that Gérald has atoned for his father's crime, and there is nothing to prevent his marriage with Bertha. Gérald refuses, and Bertha allows him to depart to fight against the infidels, armed with Roland's sword Durandal, which the emperor has placed in his hands.

—The author has, it will be seen, treated the legend quite freely. Roland was not married, but only betrothed, to Oliver's sister the Lady Alda, and Ganelon, it is needless to say, was rewarded for his treason by a terrible death. Several of the characters, among them Ganelon, are feebly drawn; Charlemagne, in particular, is only a weak old man, which, however, is his usual rôle in the Italian Carolingian epics. The success of the piece is due largely to the patriotic element, of which the following lines will give a sample. The first is from Charlemagne's prediction of the future glory of France:

"Ta gloire ! oh ! puisse-t-elle aux époques prochaines,
Croître ou s'affermissant, comment croissent les chênes,
Offrir l'abri superbe et l'ombre de ton front,
Nation maternelle, aux peuples qui naîtront,
Afin qu'un dieu un jour selon mon espérance,
Tout homme à deux pays ; le sien et puis la France."

The following is from a *chanson* celebrating Durandal and Joyeuse, which Gérald recites at a banquet:

"Durandal des païens fut captive là-bas,
Elle est captive encore, et la France la pleure :
Mais le sort différent laisse l'honneur égal."

The author, M. le Vicomte de Bornier, was born in 1827, at Montpellier, and is one of the custodians of the library of the Arsenal. He was but little known before his last success, although he had previously published a volume of poems for the anniversaries of Corneille, Molière, and Racine, which were recited at the Théâtre Français, where was also represented in

1868, with moderate success, a tragedy of his entitled 'Agamemnon.' His next dramatic venture, it is said, will be another tragedy, on the subject of Mahomet.

SIR ROBERT PEELE.*

PEEL lives in English popular recollection as the statesman who emancipated the Catholics and gave the people cheap bread. The dubious credit of having carried measures of which he was for the greater part of his career the strenuous opponent has extended his temporary fame, but has injured his permanent reputation. It has fixed attention rather on the exceptional crises than on the general tenor of his life, and thus has at once withdrawn observation from the essential features of his genius, and placed the crises of his policy in a false light. The merit of Lord Dalling's sketch is, that it presents Peel's career as a whole, and proves that it was marked, if by inconsistencies of policy, yet by a rare unity and consistency of character. Sir Robert Peel was, from the beginning to the end of his political life, the ablest man of business who ever influenced the policy of England. Every critic, hostile or friendly, was sure to notice the "business-like" turn of his genius. The bitter sarcasms aimed at him week by week by Fonblanque, of the *Examiner*, almost constantly turn on the assumption that Sir Robert applied to politics the rules of trade. One day he is the great political carrier, the rival of Pickford: "Peel is but Pickford on a grander scale. The Pickford theorem was this: given a road made and goods ready at your hand, to carry the greatest quantity in the shortest time. The Peel theory was like it: given the labor and the work of others, to do more in a shorter time than other men." On another occasion he is painted as a horse-dealer: "It is thoughtlessly said that Sir Robert Peel is a man of no principles; as well might it be said that a horse-dealer is a man of no horses. The horse-dealer, it is true, has no particular attachment to his horses. He takes them only to part with them for a profit; and so it is with Sir Robert Peel and principles. He is a man of all principles, or an all-principled man. He has had all in turn, and made his profit of changing them as opportunity has offered." Disraeli seized exactly the same point at which to aim his invectives, and dubbed the object of his slander "the great Parliamentary middleman." The direct object of the satire is in each case, of course, Peel's supposed want of principle; but the form which the satire takes arises from the censor's keen perception of the business-like side of Peel's genius.

This is the very trait which Lord Dalling brings, as a friendly critic, into deserved prominence. Peel was (on his view), both from the force of inherited family aptitudes, and even more from the effect of training, led almost from a boy to turn his mind, not only towards politics, but towards the practical works of government. "It was to power that the boy who was to be the politician was taught to aspire; and as the impressions we acquire in early life settle so deeply into our minds as to become akin to instincts, so politics became connected from childhood in the mind of the future statesman with office; and he got into the habit of looking at all questions in the point of view in which they are seen from an official position. The efficient transaction of business became, so to speak, his passion." His devotion to public affairs was unremitting and unaffected. They furnished not only his sole employment, but constituted his sole amusement. His greatness as an administrator is attested by the confidence with which he inspired a writer like Carlyle—the last person who might be expected to admire a statesman whose fame was gained in the Parliamentary arena. His business skill was further the main cause which first acquired for him the trust of the nation. The Whigs had gained what seemed unbounded popularity by the Reform Bill. Their leaders were men of far more than average talent, but inexperience in the practice of government made them utterly inefficient in the work of administration. When their management of the Exchequer produced deficits in the midst of national wealth, the public felt that the time had come to call to office a minister who could administer public affairs on sound business principles. From whatever side Peel's policy be examined, it will be found that the great successes which were really his own, were the result of talent for business. As a party leader, his great triumph was the transformation of impracticable Toryism into sensible Conservatism. Prejudice and bigotry had lost the Tories the immense fund of prestige accruing to them from the conduct of the war. They were, as a party, tending to bankruptcy. Peel took their affairs in hand, wound up the old Tory concern, and set the party going again as Conservatives, with a large share of popular credit. As a statesman, he performed the same duty for the nation which he performed as a politician for his party. He did not voluntarily take part in violent reforms, but he gradually and cau-

* 'Sir Robert Peel: An Historical Sketch by Lord Dalling and Bulwer.' London: R. Bentley & Sons.

tiously improved every part of the administration. The return to specie payments, the formation of the Irish constabulary, the rearrangement of the finances, the creation of the London police, and other great administrative reforms, are the characteristic achievements of a statesman who brought to the service of the state the zeal and capacity which are generally devoted to the acquisition of private fortune.

The peculiar bias of Peel's mind is what places him at the head of the modern school of English statesmen. The politics of his family, his early political connections, and the circumstances of the time at which he entered public life seem at first sight to place him among the followers of Castlereagh and Eldon. His strenuous and honest opposition to Parliamentary reform, and the distrust which he probably to the end entertained towards the policy of which the Catholic Emancipation Act was the expression, appear still more decidedly to fix his place among the school of statesmen who ruled England before the reform of Parliament. But in truth, Peel's talents and disposition were far better suited for a system of government under which the trading and mercantile classes possess a predominant influence, than for the aristocratic constitution which he in vain attempted to preserve. Canning, the last of the great rhetoricians, and Lord Russell, the last of the Whigs, each belonged in spirit to the time of Pitt, of Fox, and of Burke. Neither of them possessed marked capacity for business; neither of them showed any genius for administrative improvements; neither of them sympathized with either the merits or defects of the class who came into power after the passing of the Reform Bill. Peel, though he opposed reform, was really a middle-class minister. He did not rise to power through oratorical brilliancy. He did not keep himself in power by the aid of a great aristocratic connection. Unconsciously, but none the less certainly, he instituted the modern policy of England. If he did not proclaim non-intervention he practically favored it, and if he for a time upheld protection, he entered upon a course of financial reform which almost inevitably led up to the abolition of the Corn Laws. Above all, he turned his own attention and that of the nation to exactly that kind of administrative improvement which the time required, and which Tories and Whigs alike had been too prone to overlook while occupied in the exciting and aristocratic game of politics.

That Sir Robert Peel's true claim to fame is his greatness as an administrator would be more readily acknowledged if the ordinary world were able to realize how great and, still more, how rare are the gifts required for successful administration. Industry is no doubt essential, but of itself it goes a very little way. George the Third worked as hard as a clerk, and like a mere clerk he plodded industriously on till he brought his own affairs and those of the nation into hopeless confusion. The talents really needed besides industry are determination, clear-sightedness, and resource, and these gifts are as rare as any which can be given to man. Two at least of them—clear-sightedness and resource—were Peel's in their highest perfection. His view of Catholic Emancipation is an example of his capacity for looking facts in the face. His policy was no doubt mistaken, for it was as impossible as it was unjust permanently to keep the mass of Irishmen outside the Constitution; but when he maintained that to grant emancipation was to sign the death warrant of Protestant supremacy, he certainly showed far greater insight than the advocates of emancipation, who supported a just cause by the delusive argument that when Catholics had gained equal political rights, they would be content with the maintenance of a system based on the assumption that Catholics were not the equals of Protestants. His resource appears at every turn of his career. When he did away with inconvertible paper-money, when he founded Maynooth, when he reformed the London police, he exhibited exactly that marvellous power of dealing effectively with the particular matter in hand which is often wanting to great orators and even to great reformers, but is the sure mark of a skillful administrator or a first-rate man of business.

Gratitude for public services and admiration for rare talents ought not to conceal from candid judges that Peel suffered from the defects which naturally accompany his cast of mind. He was, it has been well said, rather "clear-sighted than far-sighted." His treatment of the Catholic question and opposition to the anti-Corn-Law movement cannot be explained without assuming (in the face of the clearest proof to the contrary) that he was the most profligate of politicians, or admitting that with all his talents he did not see as far ahead as many men who were in general ability immeasurably his inferiors. His attitude towards reform of Parliament is a further proof of his want of prophetic insight. Lord Dalling, who was a member when the Reform Bill was introduced, is a first-rate witness with reference to the state of public opinion at the time. "Mr. John Smith, an ardent reformer, said that the Government measure went so far beyond his expectations that it took away his breath. . . . Mr. Hunt, the famous radical, said before the introduction of the bill, that, if it gave members to a few of

the great towns and disfranchised with compensation a few close boroughs, the public would rest content. . . . The Government plan was received with profound astonishment. Lord John continued his explanations amid cheers and laughter." Peel showed blindness throughout the whole contest. He did not understand that reform was inevitable; he did not know how to deal with the sudden enthusiasm in favor of the bill, and, for once, blundered just as a capable official does blunder when placed in a position where administrative experience is useless. He showed on this occasion not only want of foresight, but also a lack of that capacity for sudden action on the spur of the moment which Lord Russell, though in all other points inferior to Peel, has more than once exhibited on critical occasions. This want of foresight, and incapacity for dealing with unforeseen emergencies, are both characteristic of the official habit of mind, and are traceable in part to Peel's undeviating adherence to the principle of always dealing with the immediate matter in hand, and never occupying his mind with problems not ready for practical solution. This principle is a perfectly sound rule for the conduct of business. It is not without its defects when employed for the guidance of statesmanship. It fosters the tendency to delay taking up difficult questions till it is almost too late to deal with them at all. It facilitates concentration of mind, but it is a hindrance to prudent foresight.

Peel's practice of concentrating all his powers on subjects which could immediately be dealt with, accounts for the fact that, though he promoted the success of several great reforms, he never originated any great movement. He was even unwilling to follow out his own ideas beyond the point at which they could be immediately put in practice. His endowment of Maynooth foreshadowed a policy which, whatever his intentions, he never followed out to its legitimate consequences. The officialism of his mind must always be recollected when the question of his honesty is debated. Peel's great achievements ought not to conceal the fact that at some crises of his career he exhibited a kind of political shiftiness which is not compatible with the highest conceivable statesmanlike morality. But a good deal of what is sometimes considered dishonesty was merely the effect of his habit of delaying the consideration of speculative questions until they became of immediate practical importance. He believed in a paper currency till he had to consider as a practical statesman whether cash payments ought not to be restored. Further, he was, it must be admitted, in the earlier part of his career anxious for office. But the anxiety was merely a form of that most legitimate kind of ambition which consists in the desire to obtain for one's self a field where great talents may be exercised for public advantage; and it is palpable that the moral character of Peel's ambition rose as he advanced in power. In his contest with Canning he was apparently influenced quite as much by personal considerations as by his view of the public interest. When he repealed the Corn Laws he obviously sacrificed every private consideration to the good of the nation. His lasting historical reputation will, it may be suspected, be something like that of Walpole. He will live as the administrator whose great sagacity guided the British nation through a perilous stage of its development. But there is, after all, a rough justice in the popular misconception which attributes to him the whole merit of two great reforms, of which he was for the greater part of his life the opponent. Catholic emancipation and the repeal of the Corn Laws are not the characteristic triumphs of Peel's statesmanship, but they are the measures which prove him not only a great minister but also a great patriot.

SAINTE-BEUVE'S ENGLISH PORTRAITS.*

IT may be said that if it is of no particular profit to translate Sainte-Beuve into English, it at least does no harm. Those who care to read him will be sure to be able, and to prefer, to read him in his own tongue, and those who do not will let him alone, as before. To this may be answered, we think, that a performance like the present volume sins in being a spurious rather than a real service to culture; that Sainte-Beuve, of all men, was devoted to culture in its purest and most incorruptible forms; and that it is therefore paying him a poor compliment to present him in a fashion based on a compromise with sound taste. Sainte-Beuve's was not in the least an English mind, in spite of his partially English ancestry; he was a Frenchman to his finger-tips; and his intellect, his erudition, his taste, his tone, his style, were of a deeply national stamp. It cannot be said that he spoke without authority on any subject whatever; but his authority in speaking of foreign writers was diminished by half. He spoke of them rarely; he *happened*, so to say, at wide intervals to have touched upon

* 'English Portraits. By C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Edited and translated from the 'Causeries du Lundi.' With an Introductory Chapter on Sainte-Beuve's Life and Writings.' New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1875.

Franklin, Chesterfield, Gibbon, Cowper, and Pope. The articles are charming, but even in the original they are not among his best; and in the present translation (which is yet extremely good) they offer an almost painfully dim and ineffective image of the brilliant qualities familiar to those who greatly admire him. The part of culture—the part of that penetrating and initiated taste of which Sainte-Beuve was so eminent a representative—is to say: “You are not really reading the great critic in this form; you are only half reading him; you are seeing him through a glass, very darkly; you are not doing him justice.” The part of the translator of these essays, on the other hand, of the compiler of the volume for which circulation and popularity are sought, is to say, naturally: “You are doing him justice; the glass is a glass, but it is very clear; what you lose is, after all, not the essential.” And this is why to serve up half-a-dozen of Sainte-Beuve's second-best *Causeries* as an English book is to be at odds with the very spirit of Sainte-Beuve. We may be thought rather cynically fastidious; but we may affirm that if there is a touch of ill-humor in our restrictions we are not without an excuse for it. If the voluminous introductory essay prefixed to the present volume had been a strikingly felicitous performance—had offered us any new information or any especially suggestive reflections—we do not think that we should have been less disposed to hold the translator to an account. But the essay strikes us as having little value. It is both meagre and clumsy—extremely diffuse in manner and yet very chary of real characterization, of that finer, subtler characterization of which one strikes the note in the simple mention of Sainte-Beuve's name. The author alludes to a great many books and writers, and institutes a vast number of laborious, commonplace comparisons and *rapprochements*, but we honestly think that a reader whose sole knowledge of the great critic should be derived from these pages would carry away an extremely vague and formless image. And why should the translator utter a judgment so unaccountable as the following? “Though it is hardly doubtful that Sainte-Beuve's ‘*Causeries du Lundi*’ will gratify and inform future generations of Frenchmen, yet the universality and endurance of his renown might have been still better assured had he produced one work, of moderate compass, supplying a complete impression of his power.” If the ‘*Causeries*’ do not supply a complete impression of his powers, these are even larger than our large estimate of them, and if through “one work of moderate compass” he would have become more easily the intellectual companion, the ever-present, suggestive, inspiring friend of those who love letters, surely the admirably consistent, available, unimportant form of the ‘*Causeries*’ is ingenuously sadly wasted. We are grateful to the author, however, for his quotation from Taine, which, in its admirable definiteness, stands out in high relief in the midst of his own vague portraiture.

If M. Taine has succeeded in portraying Sainte-Beuve, it is not that the task was an easy one. He himself was more complex than any figure he ever drew, and he could only have been adequately painted in colors from his own palette. There are so many things to say about him that one hardly knows where to begin, and whatever we say, we feel that we have omitted something essential. The truly essential thing, we take it, is that he worked, as Taine happily says, “for lettered and delicate men.” These are Sainte-Beuve's real public—the public which would find something indelicate in Sainte-Beuve Anglicized. But even this is true only if taken in a certain cautious sense. The great critic had as much of what is called human nature as of erudition, and the proof of his genius was the fashion in which he made them go hand-in-hand. He was a man of books, and yet in perception, in divination, in sympathy, in taste, he was consummately a man of the world. It is a marvel to see the way in which he effects this subtle interfusion of science and experience. He appeals to the cultured man, to the highly civilized and finished social unit, but he appeals to him in behalf of something which demands no sacrifice of points of contact with the world, but an increase and a higher sensibility in each. Most erudition beside Sainte-Beuve's seems sterile and egoistic; none was ever turned to such infinite account, so put to use, so applied, so controlled by life. These are his general characteristics, and the portrait would be only more interesting in going down into detail. Then would appear his patience, his religious exactitude, his marvellous memory, his exquisite fancy—all the accomplishments and virtues and graces of the literary passion. On the other hand, we should touch in a dozen different directions his limitations and his defects, and these perhaps would be most interesting of all. They would be limitations of temper, of morality, of generosity, and they would also now and then be limitations of taste. This it takes some courage to say; but readers who have really suffered in a tender part of their mental organism from certain baser moments, as they may call them, in the great critic, will feel as if they had paid for the right to be positive. We allude here to the

vices of temper, to his two volumes on Châteaubriand, to such an episode, for instance, as the long, interpolated diatribe against poor Gustave Planche—against his personal habits, his ugliness, his poverty—in the series of papers (in the *Nouveaux Lundis*) on Horace Vernet; as well as to many a thrust and scratch, quite out of the rules of the game, in the author's innumerable foot-notes. We should fancy that among the people of the day, within range of Sainte-Beuve's reference, there must have been a certain special, well-known physical sensation associated with a glimpse of their names in these terrible notes. There was no knowing what was coming; he never spoke save by book; what documents had he got hold of now? Sainte-Beuve's faults of taste were those of omission, not of commission. Anything he admired was in some degree admirable; but there were also things to which he was constitutionally unable to do justice. He flourished side by side with Balzac, whom he detested, without ever suspecting, apparently, the colossal proportions of the great novelist's genius. It is true that what we all dislike in Balzac Sainte-Beuve disliked with an acuteness, with a power to measure the extent of its aberration, which few of us possess. He liked Pope and Cowper, as the present volume shows, more than the mind of the “period” just now finds easy. It would be most interesting to follow through his writings the vein of old French conservatism of taste—to see it wind and twist and double, making occasionally a startling deflection into dangerous places, taking a plunge into turtil waters, but never altogether, as simple *taste*, losing a certain remote family likeness to Philistinism. Sainte-Beuve, as a whole, is the least of a Philistine conceivable; but to the end of his life, in spite of passing fancies and sudden enthusiasms, in spite of his immense and constant intellectual hospitality and flexibility, what he most relished was temperance, perfect taste, measure. This fact of necessity makes him a partial and inadequate witness to English literature. All these points will be elucidated, harmonized, balanced against each other, when a really conclusive and adequate portrait is produced—a better portrait than that which M. d'Haussonville has lately been contributing to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* with so much pretended, and so little real, liberality. M. d'Haussonville's last word is that Victor Cousin once said to him, as the conclusion of a comparison they had been making together (they might have been better employed!) of Sainte-Beuve and Mérimée: “Mérimée is a *gentilhomme*, and Sainte-Beuve is not: that is why Mérimée is superior to Sainte-Beuve.” This is as valueless as the majority of epigrams. Carlyle says of Mirabeau that he had swallowed all formulas; and we may say of Sainte-Beuve that he had swallowed all *gentilshommes*—M. Cousin, certainly, *quâ* gentilhomme, included. Sainte-Beuve's defects, we think, are not to be analyzed in that line, but on an even deeper and subtler one. The best essays in the present volume are those upon Franklin and Gibbon. It is also very well to see what an acute Frenchman can say on behalf of Chesterfield, who has been too long the victim of the pure Johnsonian view. The article on Mary Stuart is, in the present state of learning, rather antiquated. That on Taine's English literature is chiefly a sympathetic disquisition upon Pope. Even if Sainte-Beuve were, at the worst, twice the Philistine he escapes being, it would still be delightful to see a conservative opinion uttered with such happy tact as this:

“But apropos of Boileau, can I then accept this strange judgment of a clever man, this opinion which M. Taine assumes, and does not fear to take on his shoulders as he goes? ‘There are two sorts of verses in Boileau: the most numerous, which seem by a good sophomore; the least numerous, which seem by a good senior.’ The clever man who so speaks (M. Guillaume Guizot) does not feel Boileau as a poet, and I will go further and say that he does not feel any poet as a poet. I quite understand that you should not make all poetry lie in the *métier*, but I do not at all understand that when you are treating of an art you should take no account of the art itself, and should depreciate to this point the perfect workmen who excel in it. Suppress at a stroke all poetry in verse—that would be more expeditious; otherwise speak with esteem of those who have possessed its secrets. Boileau was of the small number of these; Pope equally.”

GALTON'S ENGLISH MEN OF SCIENCE.*

MR. GALTON'S ideas in regard to hereditary genius have, we think, been somewhat misunderstood. Superficial readers constantly ask, in refutation of his theory that genius is hereditary, who and what was the father of Shakspeare, of Newton, of Napoleon? But Mr. Galton's thesis is not that illustrious men all have illustrious fathers, brothers, and sons, or that even a majority of their immediate relations are illustrious—although there are such exceptional cases, as for instance the two Pitts—but that eminent men have more eminent relatives than non-eminent men. In other

* ‘English Men of Science: Their Nature and Nurture. By Francis Galton, F.R.S. author of ‘Hereditary Genius,’ etc.’ London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1874.

words, one hundred eminent men, selected at random, have about nine fathers, eight brothers, and thirteen sons who are also eminent (in certain families these numbers are nearly four times as great); whereas one hundred non-eminent men have but a small fraction of one eminent man among their immediate relatives. From this Mr. Galton fairly concludes that eminence (or ability) is not, as a rule, a phenomenal occurrence, but follows certain laws, and is transmitted in greater or less degree and for longer or shorter periods in certain families; that it is increased or diminished by marriages, judicious or injudicious as regards ability; and that it would be possible, by proper selection in marriage, to breed a race of men of commanding ability in any particular department, just as it is possible to breed a race of horses remarkable for speed, or of dogs remarkable for keenness of scent.

In his work on 'Hereditary Genius,' from which the above postulates were derived, Mr. Galton carried his examination into the families of eminent men of all descriptions—judges, statesmen, commanders, divines, etc. The present work is a pursuit of the same line of enquiry in a special department, viz., men of science in England at the present day. Not limiting himself now to the trait of ability in general, he proposes to determine, with reference to one hundred and eighty foremost men of science, 1st, their antecedents; 2d, their qualities, both of mind and body, and those of their parents; 3d, the origin of their taste for science; and 4th, their education. In short, he desires to discover everything relating to their "nature and nurture," or, as he well puts it, "to supply what may be termed their natural history." The one hundred and eighty men were selected from the Fellows of the Royal Society by applying certain tests of eminence. The total number of men of "the same general scientific status" as these in the United Kingdom is estimated at three hundred; but he considered his list of one hundred and eighty sufficiently large for his purposes, the value of his results depending of course not so much on the number of cases treated as on the accuracy and completeness of the data in each case. These three hundred men bear the ratio to the male population of the same ages of one hundred in a million; hence the "man of science" is a more remarkable specimen than the "eminent man" (250 in a million) treated of in 'Hereditary Genius.'

To each of these one hundred and eighty men was sent a long list of printed questions, designed to elicit the information required. The total number of returns received is not stated, but ninety-six complete ones were used. Here we must note a weak point in the whole investigation: it rests upon each man's personal estimate of himself, and this must necessarily be, in many cases, erroneous. Still, there is no fixed standard for ability, and the estimate of other men would also be more or less wrong; so that the method used is probably as accurate as any that could be devised. Moreover, it is probable that these self-analyses would be more free from error in the case of scientific men than of any other class; they are all trained and accustomed to methods of strict analysis, and there can be no motive for falsifying, were they capable of it, for no names nor clues to names are published. It is a strictly impersonal investigation, just as much so as if the subjects under treatment were birds or fishes.

The question of heredity appears incidentally in the chapter on "Qualities," and gives about the same result as to number of eminent relatives as was found in "Hereditary Genius," although the men considered are different. The number of eminent sons of men of science was previously found to be much larger than the number of eminent fathers—in other words, the breed of scientific men is improving. This would seem to be the natural result of certain facts stated in the chapter on "Antecedents," where we find that the marriages were well selected, the parents being generally in harmony as regards temperament and physical peculiarities, and their ages, at the birth of seventy-five per cent. of their children, being between twenty-five and forty years for the fathers, and twenty and thirty-five for the mothers—the most suitable age for both. The diminution in number of eminent relatives as the relationship becomes remote, is also found to be much less rapid than in other classes of eminent men. Summing up the returns given under the head of qualities, we find that in the character of a successful scientific man are generally combined energy, health, steady pursuit of purpose, business habits, independence of views, and a strong innate taste for science. The first four might have been expected, being elements of success in any occupation. The last, we might infer, would be found in this particular profession, but the taste is "decidedly innate" in only six cases out of ten; in the others, it is due to circumstances of situation, and occasionally to mere accident. As for independence of views, it is asserted almost universally in the returns; but we suspect that a few of the subjects have mistaken in themselves a simple craving to be unfashionable and odd for true independence. This independence does not extend to religious

views, for we find that a strong religious bias proves no obstacle to scientific enquiry—a fact which Dr. Draper would do well to investigate. The great majority express strong religious feelings, but free from dogmatism; and only three returns profess absolute disbelief in religious creeds of all kinds. Among the minor traits of a scientific man, natural mechanical aptitude is generally found; but good memory does not seem to be essential, as only one in four possesses it, and one in fourteen is quite deficient. The education of Mr. Galton's correspondents appears to have been about equally divided, for good and for bad; one-half received an education conducive to habits of observation, and the other half one which was restrictive. This chapter is an exceedingly instructive one, and concludes with some valuable suggestions as to the course of education best adapted to develop scientific men.

Such, then, is the natural history of the men of science in England to-day, affording an approximate solution to the problem, "What are the conditions of success in the field of science?" The chief defects of this interesting work are an absence of the valuable numerical tables, reduced to a per centum, which abound in 'Hereditary Genius,' and the failure to give a complete summary of the returns instead of a selected portion of them at length. For instance, forty-two returns are given in regard to energy, forty cases possessing energy above the average, and two below it. No statement is made of the nature of the other returns. If a less number had been given in full, and a tabular statement given at the end showing the total number of each kind received, the conclusion would have been much more convincing. There also appears to be a lack of uniformity in treating the different subjects; the chapter on "Origin of Taste for Science" is well summarized and discussed at the end, but that on "Qualities" is merely a selected portion of the replies, grouped according to their nature, but not analyzed or discussed at all. The number of these replies constantly varies with the different traits, and we are not told what relation this number bears to the total number received; so that it is impossible to determine, for example, how many scientific men in a hundred have natural mechanical aptitude, and how many have not. It seems a pity that, with so much material on hand, the author should not have arranged and discussed it more completely, and at least have given us strict statistical tables so arranged that they could be readily compared. This is all the more unfortunate because this very same kind of work was executed with marked ability in the 'Hereditary Genius.' But in spite of these defects, and although it advances no startling theory, the book will well repay careful reading and study.

Africa. The History of Exploration and Adventure, as given in the leading authorities from Herodotus to Livingstone. By Charles H. Jones. With map and illustrations. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 8vo., pp. 496.)—It is no dispraise of the industry displayed in this meritorious compilation to say that the sub-title implies more than the actual scope of the work. To describe in five hundred even more closely printed pages than these the whole course and results of African exploration (let alone adventure) would be possible only to a mind saturated with geographical lore, and gifted with remarkable powers of expression and condensation. Mr. Jones has not attempted this. He finds a small part of two pages room enough for all the discoveries prior to the eighteenth century: his real task—that of abridging the narratives produced in the last forty years—begins with Barth, Overweg, and Richardson. The preceding chapters are entitled "Topographical and General," "Madagascar," and "Notices of Earlier African Travellers," leading off with Bruce. Following Barth and his associates, we have the essence of the published works of Livingstone, Anderson, Magyar, Du Chaillu, Serval, Burton and Speke, Speke and Grant, Baker, and Schweinfurth; and chapters on Christian missions in Africa complete the scheme. As nearly as may be, Livingstone occupies a third of the entire work, and another third is divided among Du Chaillu, Baker, and Schweinfurth. Baker's 'Nile Tributaries of Abyssinia' is dismissed in a single paragraph, which states the result of his observations on the annual freshets of the Atbara and Blue Nile. Scientifically speaking, this is of course the gist of the book, which in the main is the journal of an African sportsman, and as such might properly have been excluded as Gordon Cumming has been. Baker's excursion into the Soudan, however, was not only preliminary to the expedition which terminated at the Albert Nyanza, but to the later one which he conducted under the auspices of the Khedive, as it begot in him those dreams of irrigation and colonization and empire which he vainly endeavored afterwards to carry into effect. Among the South African adventurers Chapman might have furnished the compiler with some agreeable pages. Coming down to the latest dates, we have

accounts of the Ashantee war, of Sir Bartle Frere's mission to Zanzibar, and of Lieut. Cameron's discovery of an outlet to Lake Tanganyika. In the chapter on Madagascar, Ellis is relied upon, and no mention is made of the valuable additions made to our knowledge of that island by Grandidier. But we must not look to Mr. Jones for summaries of explorations by foreigners which have either not been published in book form or not translated into English. Even Rohlf, who has been translated, does not appear, nor Mauch, nor Mohr, nor Nachtigal, nor Bastian. On the map of Africa accompanying the volume the routes of British explorers chiefly are indicated, and these not always the ones to whom most consideration is given in the text. There is something of haphazard in the illustrations also, which are not directly referred to the text, so that we see, for example, the Hamran Arabs slashing at elephants, while not a word is said, as we have just pointed out, of Baker's sporting among them.

With these explanations, Mr. Jones's work commends itself as a welcome substitute for a bulky library of African literature. It is handsomely printed and bound.

Animal Mechanism: A Treatise on Terrestrial and Aerial Locomotion. By E. J. Marey, Professor at the College of France. International Scientific Series. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1874. Pp. 283.)—To scientists Prof. Marey has for several years been known as a most ardent and successful investigator of animal locomotion. The public has hitherto had only glimpses of the nature and results of his researches, but the present volume gives a very complete and, in most respects, simple account of the methods employed in bringing this branch of physiological physics to a condition not far from that of an exact science; for the analysis of movement is here not merely qualitative, it is quantitative. The number, variety, and complexity of registering apparatus employed by Marey and his pupils are simply wonderful. Most of them are figured and described so that the reader may see how far there lurks within them a chance of error. So far as we are aware, none of his conclusions have been disproved. But there are few men and few institutions possessing the means and the skill required for the construction of such apparatus as to enable them to repeat Marey's observations. The author seems to avoid controversy, and refers to others almost always with approval. This lends additional weight to the remark (page 211), that the theory of Dr. Pettigrew respecting the movement of the bird's wing needs no refutation; while in describing the wing as having its lower surface directed downward and backward in its descent, he does not even allude to the strange idea of Pettigrew that it looks downward and forward. Bipedal locomotion is illustrated by that of man, and quadrupedal by that of the horse. The author shows how the artist and the teamster may profit by these apparently abstract studies, the one for the true representation of the animal in motion, and the other for the better adjustment of the collar for the draught-horse. The book closes with a hopeful prophecy as to the imitation of aerial locomotion, and the assurance that the author and his pupils are far from regarding their studies of animal locomotion as completed.

Of the first part of the work our commendation can hardly be so unqualified as of the last. The sketch of evolution offers little that is new, and the discussion of the correlation and conservation of forces is not full enough to be satisfactory as such, while it occupies space that might well have been given to further details of the author's original work. There are a few anatomical inaccuracies, but the reader must not hold the author responsible for the extraordinary rendering of *péronéal* upon pages 75 and 88, or for the not infrequent obscurity of the translation. Since the volumes of this series are largely read by students and others who wish to refer to the authors cited, we suggest to the publishers the plan for reference now employed by Haeckel and others: a list of works is given at the close of the volume, and these are referred to by number with the number of the page. This latter may be in italics.

Health: A Handbook for Households and Schools. By Edw. Smith, M.D., F.R.S. (New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1875. 12mo, pp. 198.)—In this volume the author has brought into a form adapted to the use of schools a large amount of valuable information on the subject of health. The object of the work being not discussion, but instruction in a concise manner, many categorical statements are made which can only be accepted with considerable reserve, e. g., the account in the beginning of the first chapter, based on the theory of Liebig, of the action of different sorts of food. Looked at from a scientific point of view, the book is open to a good deal of the same sort of criticism which the author's work on Foods received. There is much of the same carelessness of statement, and ignorance of the results of recent investigations, which were noticeable in the earlier

work. Thus, the description of the eye, with its anomalies of refraction, might as well have been written before Donders and Helmholtz had given to the world the results of their studies in physiological optics. Beaumont's tables, derived from observations on Alexis St. Martin, are given as if nothing farther were needed to determine the relative digestibility of various articles of food. By the statements made as to the nutritive value of fish, the impression is left on the mind of the reader that the salmon alone amongst fishes has red blood. The alcohol question is treated briefly, and from a total-abstinence point of view. This is, perhaps, judicious in a work intended for a text-book, but a child who sees wine in daily use upon his father's table can scarcely be expected to "be a missionary to endeavor to reclaim others from the practice of this folly."

In spite of faults like the above the book may, in the hands of a teacher who does not derive his whole knowledge of the subject from the book itself, be safely employed to impart to school-children a knowledge of the principles of hygiene, which cannot fail to be useful to them in after-life.

Fine Arts.

FIFTIETH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF THE ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

I.

IN its half century of public displays the Academy has not often shown a better collection, so far as average excellence goes, than the present. The works, it is true, are nearly all cabinet or other easel-pictures of limited size and modest standard, but they are conscientious, and reveal the ardor of study and an improved refinement of technic. It should be remembered by those disposed to complain of the lack of lofty art at our exhibitions, that the conditions of painting with us are hostile to whatever is grandiose in design and conception. Our patronage is distinctly unpatriotic; the richest buyers believe that they prove their taste, rather than put it to shame, in preferring foreign to native art. Thus the careful, toilful canvases, devoted to history or the ideal, are wanting; they can only be fostered by a patronage that has faith in the national ability. Again, paintings are ordered in this country neither by churches nor the state, mural art is unknown, and the only commands for decoration in fresco go to humble workmen of Italian or German origin when a new theatre is to be hurried up. What is rather strange, our sculpture is far in advance of our pictorial art in this kind of success; there is even a rage for monumental statuary, and the plastic artist finds it possible to keep his body and soul together by means of his profession, at a time when the historical painter is completely without encouragement. We point to this primordial state of American painting chiefly because the present exhibition is not absolutely without experiments in the line of academic art. Mr. Henry Peters Gray has painted an ideal figure of Liberty, which, after many excursions among clubs and leagues and art-receptions, has settled with its eagle on the walls of the Academy at last. We think the figure is good enough to be treated with marked respect; it is a conscientious, studious, rich-looking work, full of the secrets of color, bathed in atmosphere, and showing trained ability in every part; at the same time, Mr. Gray's Freedom is not Freedom at all, to our thinking; the motive is voluptuous rather than epical, and there is that in the conception, as the budding girl exchanges confidential glances with her aquiline attendant, which is sure to provoke the smile of the scornful. But still it ought to be felt among us that our art will rise above the art of the illustrated-newspaper sort only by the studies, the aspirations, the conflict and the success of which this picture is no mean product.

Another thing, and a praiseworthy thing, which makes the exhibition this year rather elevated than exciting, is that scarcely any sensational foreign pictures are present. There is not even an enormous cattle-piece by Schenck in the middle of the great room. Mr. Bierstadt, it is true, appears to be resuming his vocation of painting western mountains the size of nature, but he is not exactly a foreigner; and our native topographical artist, Mr. Thomas Moran, has been merciful, and contracted his spangled Utah scenery into measurable limits. Nor do the works of landscapists, whether foreign or home-bred, attract that unreasoning concentration of attention which is brought to bear on the huge Cabanel, or Merle, or Regnault just bought and placed by its proud owner in the American art-school. The only important French picture this year has been contributed by a well-known patron of the Academy, who hangs up Bouguereau's smooth-looking portrait of a child belonging to his family. It is delightful to be able to say

that this learned *académie* of Bouguereau's is surrounded by American pictures which do not lose, but rather gain, in obvious strength by the comparison. The Elizabethan head by Mr. Neal, with its laced ruff striking positive silver sparks against the black ground-work, and its sumptuously-modelled features, is a rude effort in the Piloty style, that would look strong even in an exhibition of Rubenses. The vigorous three-quarter face, by Mr. Brush, set against a light background and positive as a bronze, is a happy prophecy of the future of American portraiture. The figure of a large, fresh, frank-looking girl, by Mrs. Loop, is as sculptural, as intelligent, as thorough as any portrait we have lately seen. The likeness of Mrs. Greatorex, by Mr. Toby Rosenthal, has something rounded, rich-looking, and shadowy about it that gives it the charm of an ideal work. Mr. Chase, of St. Louis, sends "The Dowager," a really superb Rembrandtesque study, completely harmonious in the character of painting it represents, and so instructive and serviceable as a model that it was bought on varnishing-day by a prominent artist. Among these powerful portraits—and portrait, it is well to remind the reader, is the only form in which an American painter is now allowed to do life-sized work—we would point to an exceptional specimen, whose justification is rather delicacy than robustness; we refer to the lady's bust-picture by Mr. Eastman Johnson, a piquant model absolutely saturated with expression, and brushed with a very thin mantle of color that in this instance seems absolutely right.

The ideal world of the American school has about the smallest showing in the exhibition that any *genre* could possibly have and exist at all; but Mr. La Farge happily contributes his epithalamium-picture of Eros leading Psyche. It is fortunately hung between one of Mr. Homer's real and daylight effects and a robust kitchen subject; and in this kind of neighborhood it seems to be hushed up in the veiled light of dreams. The tenderness of the attitudes, the poetic slightness of the work, the curtained stillness of the group, and the softness with which the feet of the figures rest upon the earth, are all treated in a very sonnet-like and polished kind of condensation. But the painting, like most of Mr. La Farge's painting, is obviously tentative; it is a record left by one of the tribe of seekers. This artist has been now so many years indulging us with a sight of his beautiful experiments that we wonder when he will give us something clear and

specific, showing delicacy of execution instead of delicacy of aim. Another of Mr. La Farge's subtlest subjects is drawn on wood, and shows an enchantress touching her lover with a wand, at which the victim changes to a rolling snake, with a long glance of despair from the eyes about to sink into metamorphosis. His exquisite title-page for the book called 'Lotos-Leaves' and the lily-born nymph from the 'Old Dramatists' are exhibited also, in proofs of the unapproachable engravings of Mr. Marsh.

We hasten, before closing this curt preliminary notice, to signalize the development of a very different talent—the manly, open-air, sincere art of Mr. Homer. Since his war-pictures he has not done himself so much justice. He always brings us something quaint, uncopied, and freshly-viewed; and this year he puts forward several novelties of effect that strike the eye like revelations. Another artist, for instance, would hardly think of making a motive out of the horizontal stripes of a fence, relieved against a ground of very slightly differing value, so as to make the group at the fence appear like a decoration wrought upon a barred ribbon; yet that is the problem very effectively wrought out in his milking-picture. Where he is Mr. La Farge's neighbor, Mr. Homer seems to have tasked himself to supply the most stimulating contrast imaginable. The Psyche of the former is set side by side with one of Homer's blowsiest New England girls, who chews a straw as an expression of contrariness, while she leans against a bank of stubble, thereby teasing a practical-looking lover, who is not going to put up with her airs much longer. The finish is for once carried to an expressive and satisfactory point, and nothing can be more plainly set down than Mr. Homer's idyl of ill-temper, wherein we can see the acme of endurance accurately reached, and almost hear the rough Hosea-Bigelow patois as these immobile domestic Memnons clasp their knees in the sunshine. Another of the artist's pictures is less praiseworthy—indeed, shows Mr. Homer with all his originality and all his vices: it seems to be the memorandum of some effect wherein the artistic eye was caught with the sunny flash of pigeons and other white creature studded about a farm-shed; but the silvery patches have attained a distressing regularity, and the picture, dismissed at the point of the very rudest sketching, seems to have been hung with some satirical intention precisely where it is most compromising and conspicuous.

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The Reader.

GREECE "IN NUCK," A MODEL SHORT HISTORY—
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GOOD RECENT FICTION.

Lucid and compact, the little 'History of Greece,' by C. A. Fyffe, M.A., is one of the masterpieces of the "Primer Series," edited with so much compressive skill by Mr. J. R. Green. Himself a historian of very rare powers of condensation, he seems to have communicated this faculty to his collaborator in the present instance. In the course of a small tract of 127 pages, Mr. Fyffe reviews the story of Greece from Theseus to the fall of Corinth, giving unity to the relations of its mosaic of states; explaining the religious origin of all the schemes for concerted action known to the Greeks; the abolition of regal rule, attributed to Theseus; the codification of existing laws by Draco; the triumph of wealth over caste in the time of Solon; the gradual rise of the Thersites of the period from his inconsiderable position to a more regarded one; and so on to the check given at Marathon to Asiatic conquest and the gradual refinement of power by means of amenity as seen in Perikles, Nikias, and Alkibiades. With this class of cultured leaders the author contrasts the Macedonian barbarism of Alexander: "If he is to be treated as a Greek, some of his acts can only be compared to those of the very worst tyrants." The gradual emancipation of society and representation of the people, limited and unsatisfactory in degree as it is in Greek history, engages Mr. Fyffe's attention whenever possible; the suppressed classes are the continual objects of his interest and curiosity. "In reading the history of Greece," he remarks, "we must bear in mind that we are reading the history of the masters only, not of the slaves; there was another part—the slave population—whose history, if it existed, would perhaps be too full of misery and suffering for us to bear to read it." In another part of the Primer we have Socrates fulfilling his mission of unbelief, dying for it, and introducing the idea of ethical skepticism carried to the point of martyrdom. "He taught that the gods wished men to honor them, not by beliefs," but by goodness, and thus gave birth to the Emersonian opinion that the gods "are the doubter and the doubt." The whole treatise is redolent of originality and acumen, while it is written in language that is plain to any child. It will be a just grievance on the part of readers of mature age if they are crowded out from access to this book by the young people, for whom it is principally intended.

The sermons of the late Rev. George Collyer Harris, the American-born vicar of a church in Torquay, are published by Macmillan & Co., with one of Miss Charlotte M. Yonge's agreeable memoirs for an introduction. Mr. Harris was the type of the well-read, intelligent, energetic pastor who dedicates his life in service amongst his flock. His sermons are sterling, and readable, and vital. In an "occasional" address delivered after a storm, he demands charity for the shipwrecked boatmen with an eloquence rarely heard, tempered with this exquisite piece of urbanity: "I plead for the poor young widow, . . . for the brave men too, . . . and I plead lastly—oh! pardon me, dear brethren, for my impotency—I plead for your own souls." Surely Whitefield, unbuttoning the pockets of Franklin, was not more successful than must have been this master of persuasion and grace.

After several recent Scotch novels of coast-life which have been exciting literary attention, the delicate little sketch of 'Elsie,' by "A. C. M.," has a different, a stiller, and a tenderer bouquet. It is a simple story of a pseudo Scotch marriage—the equivalent of a seduction—and the sweet behavior of the victim in her deserted after-life. It has no more plot than Lamb's tale of 'Rosamund Gray,' but it breathes the violet-incense of purity, and attracts by its graciousness and repose of style.

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